

SOME ASPECTS
OF
THE EARLIEST
SOCIAL HISTORY OF INDIA
(PRE-BUDDHISTIC AGES)

S. C. SARKĀR,

M.A. (Cal.), D. Phil. (Oxon.): Diplomee in Education, Oxford. Reader in Education, Patna University, 1925-26. Sometime Vice-Principal, Training College, Patna, and Ofg. Principal, Training College, Cuttack. Professor of Indian History, Patna College, Patna.



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE publication of this dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Oxford University has been delayed for more than five years, owing partially to pressure of my official duties and press troubles, but much more to lack of funds.

I take this opportunity of gratefully remembering the late Mr. Pargiter for the invaluable training in research work that I have had under his supervision at Oxford, and thanking Professors Macdonell, Barnett and Winternitz, Dr. Morison and Sir G. A. Grierson, for much valuable advice and criticism from time to time; and also of expressing my appreciation of the consideration shown by the Convocation of the Oxford University in permitting me to take my degree in person, before the dissertation could be placed with a press and publisher.

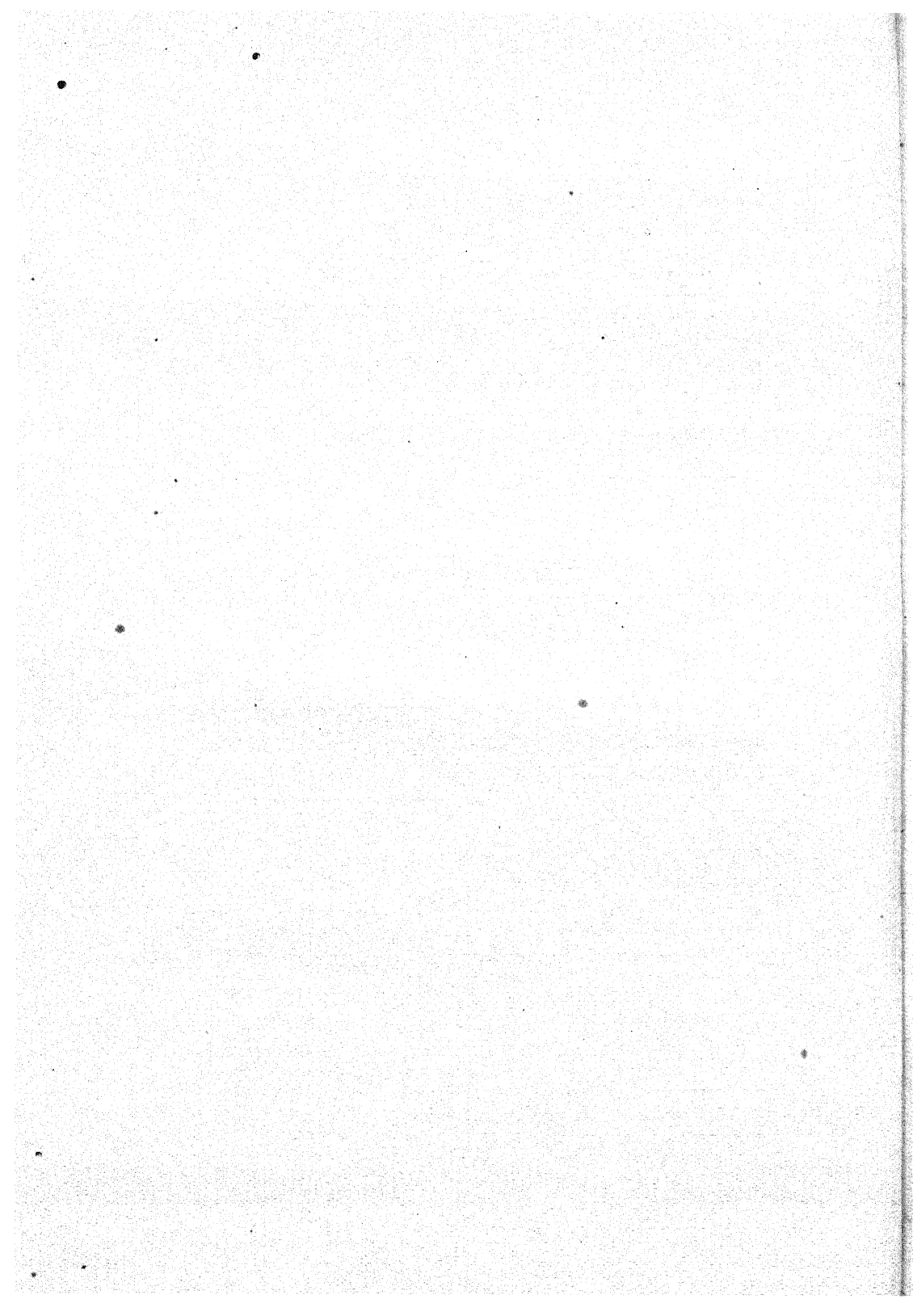
No pains have been spared to verify the references and make them full and accurate; but in a work like this some errors and misprints are almost inevitable; and I shall be grateful to scholars for pointing out any mistakes of reference, etc., that may strike them during perusal.

Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1922), which seeks to determine the political history of India from the earliest times to the 7th century B.C., and the present work (nearing completion in MS. while the former was in the Press), which attempts an accurate picture of some aspects of the social history of India for the same period, may be regarded as companion volumes, which have to be read together for a fuller understanding of Vedic History than has hitherto been possible.

I need hardly add what must strike every reader that many of my inferences and suggestions (of 1920—'22) have been amply justified by subsequent archaeological excavations in different parts of India, and the time is not distant when it will be acknowledged that Vedic and pre-Āryan civilization originated in the Lower Gangetic regions and travelled westwards.

S. C. SARK

PATNA, INDIA : *March, 1928.*



FOREWORD

[F. E. PARGITER]

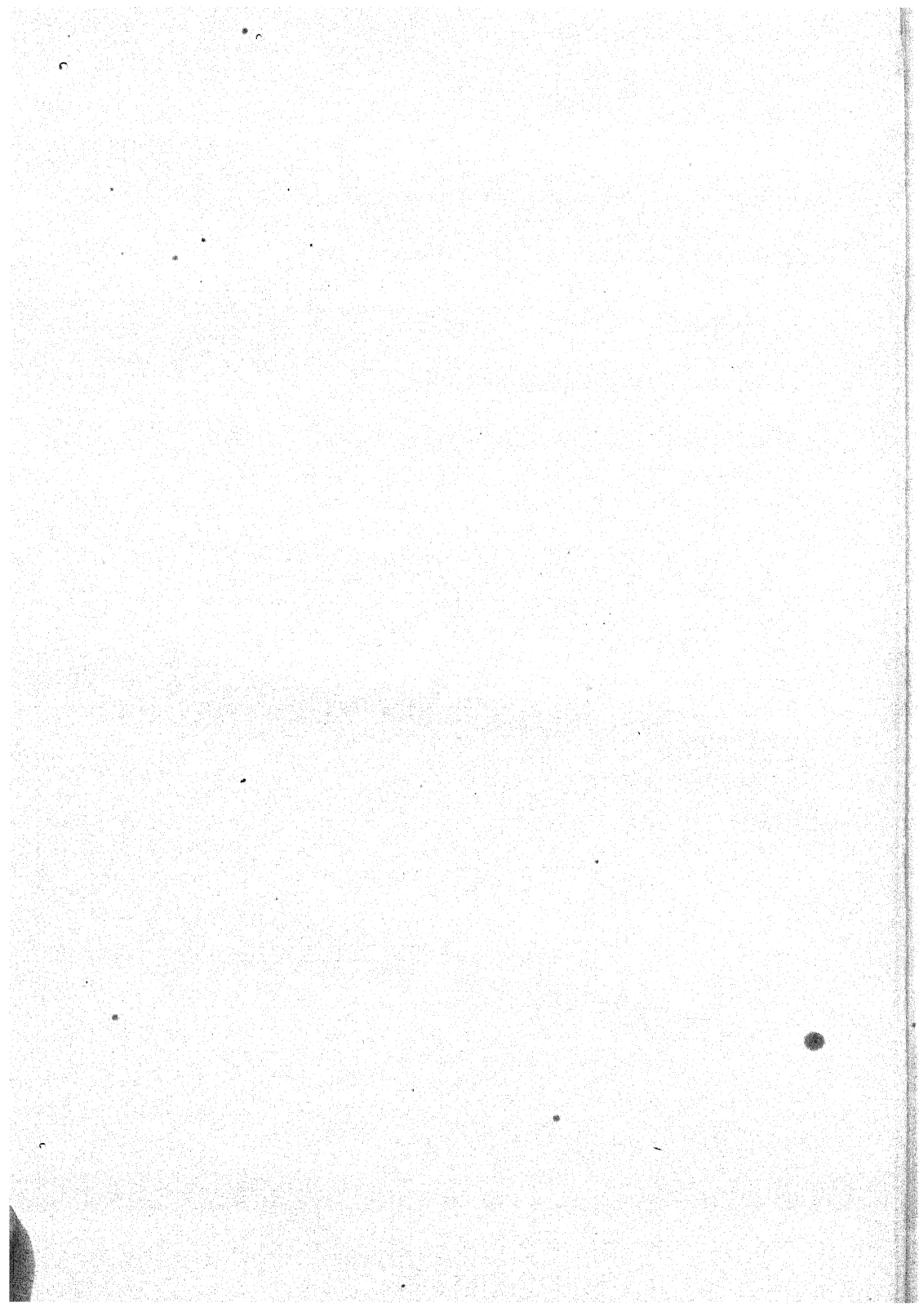
This book is the Thesis on "Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India," by which Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkâr gained the degree of D. Phil. here. It is the outcome of extensive research, not only in the Vedic and other brâhmanic literature, but also in the Epics and Purāṇas. He has dealt with it in a fresh manner, independent of preconceived ideas and accepted views, and has brought together a great quantity of new evidence regarding the social conditions of ancient India, that has been hitherto neglected, presenting it generally in new connections and a new light. There can be no doubt that the Mahābhārata and the older Purāṇas, which are largely secular literature, disclose many real features of the ancient society that cannot be discarded or belittled, though they find no place in the priestly literature and differ from the brâhmanic presentment, for in any case the existence and preservation of such different notices must be accounted for.

One inference that such independent research appears to elicit is that the Aryans, when they entered India, found in places a degree of civilization as high as their own, if not higher, especially in Oudh and North Bihar; and there need be nothing surprising in that, because it has happened more than once in the history of the world that a more virile tribe has overcome and entered into a higher civilization, and has afterwards carried that on to further excellence.

This book is therefore well worth study, and should help to revise views that may now be held on insufficient grounds.

F. E. PARGITER.

OXFORD : *December, 1924.*



AN INTRODUCTORY AND CRITICAL NOTE

. [M. WINTERNITZ]

On my way to Nālanda in September 1923, I spent two pleasant days at Pāṭnā,—Pāṭaliputra of Buddhist fame, now one of the principal seats of learning in India,—under the hospitable roof of Dr. S. C. Sarkār. We had many an interesting conversation on problems of Indian literature, and amongst other things he showed me the Manuscript of his Doctor's Dissertation on the Earliest Social History of India. The subject was of the greatest interest to me. Glancing over it I could see that it touched on some subjects which I had myself dealt with several times during the last thirty years,—the first time in my paper on Ancient Indian Marriage Ritual in 1892, and the last time in my essays on Woman in Brāhmaṇism (1920). There was no time to read the dissertation then and there. But Dr. Sarkār kindly gave me a type-written copy of it that I might read it at leisure during my voyage home. This was made impossible by a prolonged illness which befell me after the completion of my happy pilgrimage to and through India, even before I reached the shores of Italy. Thus it was not until Easter 1924 that I could read the dissertation. Now I read it with delighted interest, though in many details I could not agree with the author, and I read it even more than once, in order to re-examine his arguments, where I differed from him. But from the very beginning I highly appreciated the scholarly instinct with which he has extracted from the Vedic texts every little detail that had even the least bearing on social life.

Thus, in the first chapter, on Building of Houses, etc., he is not content with arranging all the passages referring to architectural details, but he collects at the same time everything that can in any way elucidate the economical conditions, and the social and political condition of Ancient India. In the chapter on Household Furniture, and again in that on Dress and Costumes, we find many references to marriage customs and married life, and even to ethnical and racial distinctions. Here he touches, for instance, the vexed question of the Vṛātyas, whom he takes to be Easterners and "non-Ailas" (non-Aryans), adopting the terminology of Pargiter. In a paper on the Vṛātyas that has just been published (in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus* VI, 1924-25, p. 48 ff.), I have, like Dr. Sarkār, also come to the conclusion that the Vṛātyas were neither wandering Sādhus nor Śaiva mendicants, as some scholars have tried to prove, but certain tribes, living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, and that there are some indications of their having been Easterners. I do not think, however, that

it is possible to decide whether they were Āryans or non-Āryans.

But the most interesting chapters of the dissertation are doubtless those on Sex-relations and the Status of Women in Ancient India. There are many things in these chapters to which I would take exception.

Thus I certainly should not conclude¹ from the Vedic myths that the Ṛsis of old did not see anything wrong in such connexions as that of Prajāpati with his daughter, or of Pūṣan with his mother and sister. Surely the ancient Greeks did not approve of fathers eating up their children, because according to the Greek myth Kronos devoured his children. I am sure Dr. Sarkār himself would not believe that the Ṛsi who said that Agni, as soon as born, eats his mothers or parents (jāyamāno mātārā garbho atti: Rv. X. 79, 4), approved of children eating up their parents.²

[¹ I am glad that the learned professor has raised these points, for it would serve to illustrate how it is sometimes difficult even for deep and critical scholarship to completely overcome the subtle influences of ancient prejudices and traditional or preconceived interpretations. I hope however that the footnotes I have ventured to add here may lead to a subsequent modification of the views of a scholar in whose soundness and fairness of judgment I have a very great faith indeed.—AUTHOR.]

[² It will be noted that my conclusion is not based on any one Vedic myth or two; and one of these so-called myths (viz., that of Prajāpati and his daughter) I have shown to be a brāhmanical version of a secular dynastic detail. The basis of my inferences is not only these two references to Pūṣan's or Prajāpati's conduct, but a number of other more distinct allusions in priestly as well as secular historical literature. Incestuous connexions and cannibalism are not analogous or parallel features in the history of civilization; the former may be discovered even in comparatively recent history as an established feature, while the latter, so far as the history of the more civilised races is concerned, can only be inferred from faint echoes in folklore and myths. It cannot however be denied that some ancient Hellenic traditions and myths are echoes of a remote period of barbarism, witchcraft, human sacrifices, and perhaps even of cannibalism. A scientific historian is surely justified in surmising from the Vedic (or rather pre-Vedic) Agni legends, not that the Vedic ṛsis were cannibals, but that these are relics of a forgotten barbarous age, when the Indian tribes amongst whom fire worship arose (and I have shown them to have been pre-Āryan and Gangetic) still retained racial memories of the well-known primitive practice of eating up the old members of the tribe either after (sacrificial) slaughter or exposure and death. So also it is very likely that the ancient Hellenes found traditions of such a primitive practice lingering amongst the earlier Mediterranean people, which quite naturally found their way into the mixed Greek mythology. Finally it will also be remembered that parental incests were not unknown amongst ancient Greeks and Persians, whose cultural affinities with ancient Indo-Āryans are clear enough. In investigating all such details we should steer clear of the perfectly natural tendency, on the part of native and foreign admirers of Indian civilization in general, of explaining away or ignoring facts not in agreement with later standards or with the measure of their admiration.—AUTHOR.]

The stories told in the late Jātaka commentary, not in the old Jātaka gāthās, about Rāma and Sītā, cannot prove that Sītā was common wife of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, nor that Sītā was their sister as well as wife. Generally speaking, though the existence of incestuous marriages must be admitted for Ancient India, as it is found among other ancient peoples, I do not believe that it existed to such an extent as it would appear from the statements made in this dissertation. In my opinion it never was, even in primitive times, a general popular custom, but limited to ruling families or dynasties.¹

Nor can I approve of the author's explanations of the Gandharva in the wedding mantra: "Somaḥ prathamō vivide Gandharvo vivida uttarah, tritiyo Agniḥ te patis turīyas te manuṣyajāh." The exact nature of the Gandharvas is certainly still one of the unsolved problems of Indian mythology and folklore. Still it is clear enough that Soma, the Moon, is considered as the 'husband' of the maiden on account of his regulating the menstruation, and that Agni was called the 'husband' of the bride from whom the mortal husband received her, on account of the time-honoured custom of leading the bride around the fire at the wedding ritual. In the same way the Gandharva Viśvāvasu must somehow be related to the sexual life of woman (the Buddhist Assalāyana Sutta shows that he was connected with conception; see also Rv. X. 85,

11 Here again, Sītā's consanguinity and biandry (or potential polyandry) has not been inferred from only one reference in the Jātakas, but also from many other corroborative allusions there as well as in Epic-Purāṇic literature, taken together with contemporary Vedic evidence on the subject. Occurrence of incestuous marriages "among other ancient peoples" is not however the soundest reason for inferring their existence in ancient India, though of course this has its confirmatory value; it is the first-hand evidence of the priestly and secular historical literatures that I have relied upon. "The statements made in the dissertation" are not fanciful, and references have been given for all statements, which will have to be taken for what they are worth irrespective of the attractiveness or otherwise of the conclusion.—It rather puzzles me that while the equally late and much tampered with Kāvya version of the really ancient Rāmāyaṇic traditions is passed by scholars, the Jātaka or Buddhist version, which from the standpoint of historical criticism is a much sounder source, should be viewed with unmitigated scepticism.—I have not jumped to a conclusion that consanguinous marriages and polyandry were "general popular customs"; I have only suggested that the evidence available points to a frequent occurrence amounting to a custom of such connexions amongst the chief ruling as well as priestly families of the Vedic (=Epic) age.—AUTHOR.]

21 f., and Av. IV, 37 f.), and had certainly nothing to do with the higher education of girls.¹

But I must not enter into further details. The book will doubtless meet with sharp criticism and arouse strong opposition. Some of the conclusions arrived at by the author will be accepted as true, others will have to be rejected. But errors are not only unavoidable, they are more often than not even necessary stages on the way to the discovery of truth, if only the search after truth is carried on in a truly scientific spirit.² And even the opponents will admit that this is the case in Dr. Sarkār's dissertation.

Though we may hesitate to ascribe to the traditional genealogies and legends of the Purāṇas so much historical value as our author, a faithful disciple of Mr. Pargiter, ascribes to them, yet as an historian he is fully justified in trying to find out what light the Epic and Purāṇic traditions might throw on the history of the Vedic period. In our days, when some scholars hold that there is no real tradition at all connecting the hymns of the Ṛgveda,—which are believed to have been composed somewhere in Irāṇ, if not still farther West,—with

[1] Here the only difference between Dr. Winternitz and myself is that he takes Gandharva to be connected with the sexual life of women, while I take it to be connected with some pre-marital part of woman's life. The Gandharva Viśvāvasu is certainly of a sexual character, but he is also a 'Muse'; besides Viśvāvasu is not named in the mantra in question. That Gandharva is not always a sex-spirit is shown by Vedic references to 'gandharva-grhītā' maidens and lady-teachers. There is no real conflict between the two interpretations, for the sexual character of spirits is very closely related in ancient (or even modern) thought with their artistic character. Soma's connection with menstruation would apply equally well, perhaps better, to my view of this wedding mantra: this interpretation of Soma's significance would make the education of girls in music and arts begin with adolescence,—the most suitable age for it; moral discipline or ritual purification (represented by Agni's 'husband-dom') would naturally come after it, leading to real and perfected wifehood. Agni can hardly have been regarded as a husband of the bride simply because the marriage ceremony included going round the fire; the fire was only the divine witness; from the 'sex' point of view the stone, on which the Vedic bride mounted for the sake of progeny, would be a more suitable candidate for the husband status in the mantra. Agni is very prominently connected with the 'brahmacarya' of boys; why then not of girls, who, as the Av. says, could get properly married only by passing through 'brahmacarya' or a period of education of some sort? If 'gandharva' in the wedding mantra is taken to be a 'conception' spirit, then the absurd result would follow that Vedic society credited every bride with one or more previous conceptions before being led to the fire-altar,—unless it can be shown that this particular mantra (in isolation from the rest) was originally intended for legalising illegitimate connexions with issue thereof, Agni's function being 'suddhi.'—AUTHOR.]

[2. With these remarks I entirely agree.—AUTHOR.]

the later Indian literature, it is worth something to have shown that there are after all some threads that lead from the Rgveda to the Brāhmaṇas, and from these to the Epics and the Purāṇas.

Dr. Sarkār, has derived from the Purāṇas many startling facts *and* suggestions, specially as regards the sexual morality of the highest classes of society in ancient times. How far the suggestions will stand the test of criticism and become 'facts' remains to be seen. I am myself rather sceptical about some of these suggestions; yet I cannot help admiring the absolutely unprejudiced and truly historical spirit in which the whole investigation is carried on by the author. And therefore I have great pleasure in recommending the book to all scholars who are interested in the history of Ancient India.

It only remains for me to express the hope that Dr. Sarkār may not be prevented by his official duties from devoting himself to scholarly work and continuing the researches which he has so happily begun.

PRAGUE : *November 9, 1924.*

M. WINTERNITZ.

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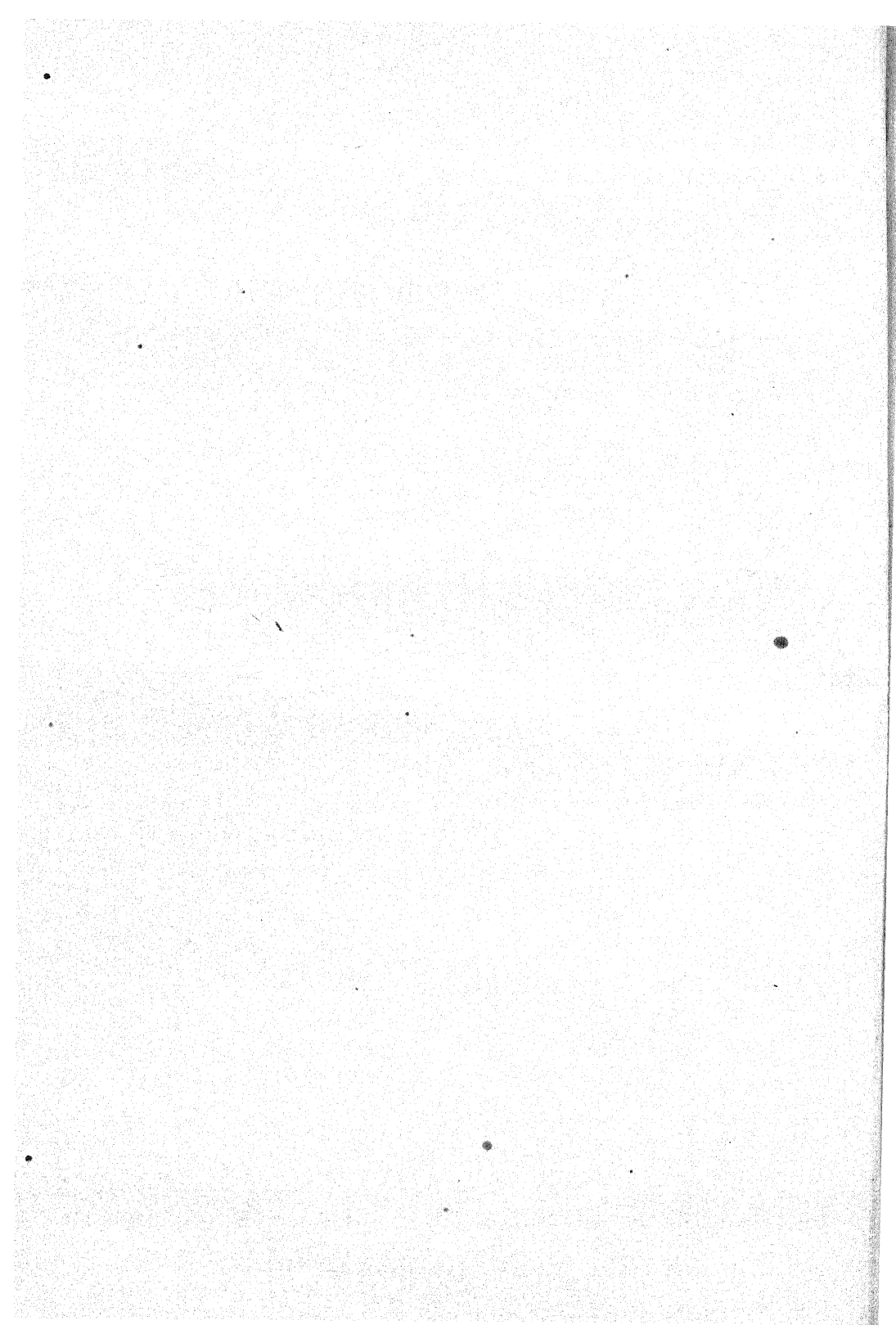
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BUILDING ACTIVITIES :

(Houses, etc.)

THE Vedic Āryans very early ceased to be wandering tribes: the Rgveda shows them indeed still conquering, but they have already begun internecine wars and struggles for overlordships¹; and fighting does not involve constant shiftings of abode. Permanent settlements, of the nature of marks,² are normal in the Rgveda, being the 'kṣitir dhruvā'³ or the fixed secure abode of the clans; such were the 'viś' (in its special sense),⁴ the 'stha'⁵ (inferable in the early 'goṣṭha',⁶ or the later 'sthapati'),⁷ the 'vrjanas'⁸ and the 'vrājas'.⁹ It is a settled life that could give the home its appropriate epithet of 'pratiṣṭhā'¹⁰ or establishment, standing, fixed abode; so also, one desiring to lead a settled home-life of his own is called 'pratiṣṭhā-kāma'.¹¹ Such a settled home is already the nucleus round which the Vedic society and polity develops. Religion, law and custom was thus based on home-life, and the individualistic tendency of the Indo-Āryan found expression in, and grew out of the importance he attached to the home.

Already in the early Vedic times, houses were not simply unit family abodes, but were also individual private properties, which could be acquired¹²; and sometimes a ready-made house could be purchased for a considerable price¹³; a well-to-do person possessed several houses; thus a rich householder is called 'pastyāvanta',¹⁴ and some poet-singers are described as 'puru-dama'¹⁵; so also (later on) fields and 'āyatanas'¹⁶ are given as examples of prosperity.

The great variety of Vedic words denoting a dwelling-house is a reflection of its importance to the Vedic Indians, and shows that they were long settled, with a tradition of house-building. 'Gaya' is a common word¹⁷ in the Rgveda for the house or household, inclusive of the inmates and their belong-

¹ As the Purāṇic tradition amply shows.

² Cf. Roth: Dict., s.v. 'vrjana'.

³ Cf. Rv. I, 73, 4; VII, 88, 7; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 142.

⁴ E.g. where 'grha' is contrasted with 'viś': Rv. X, 91, 2; cf. VII, 82, 1.

⁵ Cf. the Germanic 'Stadt'.

⁶ Vide infra.

⁷ Cf. Kāt. Śr. Sūt. I, 1, 12; Weber: Ind. Stud. 10, 13.

⁸ Rv. I, 51, 15; 73, 2, 4; 91, 21; 105, 19; 128, 7; 165, 15; 166, 14; etc.; VII, 32, 27; X, 42, 10; etc.

⁹ Rv. X, 179, 2=Av. VII, 72, 2.

¹⁰ Av. VI, 32, 3=VIII, 8, 21=Sāñkh. Āraṇ. XII, 14. (Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 181, sees in it a legal term, but cf. St. Pet. Dict.).

¹¹ Taitt. Sam. II, 1, 3, 4; Pañc. Brā. XXIII, 19, 1; etc.

¹² Cf. 'vidatha'; also n. 4, p. 4.

¹³ Av. IX, 3, 15.

¹⁴ Rv. I, 151, 2; IX, 97, 18 (prob.).

¹⁵ Av. VII, 73, 1.

¹⁶ Chānd. Upan. VII, 24, 2.

¹⁷ Rv. I, 74, 2; V, 10, 3; 44, 7; VI, 2, 8; etc.; Av. VI, 3, 3 Vāj. Sam. XXVII, 3.

ings; so is 'dama'¹ (and 'dam') meaning house or home, implying an idea of control,² or possibly of building³; 'dhāman',⁴ another word for a dwelling or house, also signifies on the one hand 'the inmates of the house,'⁵ and on the other 'law or ordinance,'⁶ showing the connexion in the Vedic mind between the house and all conceptions of law and order.⁷ 'Sarṃa'⁸ is a house as a comfortable place, 'mahī' (big) and 'smat' (fine), within the 'viś' or 'vr̥jana.' 'Gr̥ha',⁹ the family home is contrasted¹⁰ with 'jana' and 'viś,' just as the family sacrifice is contrasted¹¹ with the sacrifice of the 'jana' or 'viś,' the individualism of the home being clearly recognized. 'Kula' in the compound 'kulapā' (used of the house-protector or family-chief,¹² and the home-staying¹³ old maid) conveyed the sense of the dwelling-house of a small individual family, a sense which also occurs in the post-Vedic use¹⁴ of the word singly: though later on the word acquired an added special meaning of 'sanctuary or temple.'¹⁵ 'Vasati'¹⁶ and 'niveśana',¹⁷ seem on the other hand to have been terms without special significance: the former probably remained so all along,¹⁸ but the latter is used in the Epic and the Purāṇas in the sense of a flourishing or fresh 'colonial settlement',¹⁹ and in the Sūtras in a curious optional sense of 'resting-place or stall for cattle' as opposed to the 'gr̥ha' used by men.²⁰

- 1 Rv. I, 1, 8; 61, 9; 75, 5; 143, 4; II, 1, 2; etc.; Vāj. Sam. VIII, 24.
- 2 Cf. Roth: St. Pet. Dict. s.v. 'dama.'
- 3 Cf. V.I., 1, 340, s.v. 'dama.'
- 4 Rv. I, 144, 1; II, 3, 2; III, 55, 10; VIII, 61, 4; 87, 2; X, 13, 1; etc.; Av. IV, 25, 7; VII, 68, 1; XII, 1, 52; Vāj. Sam. IV, 34; Taitt. Sam. II, 7, 2.
- 5 Rv. VIII, 101, 6; IX, 36, 14; X, 82, 3; Av. II, 14, 6; (cf. St. Pet. Dict. s.v., c.).
- 6 Rv. IV, 55, 2; VI, 21, 3; VII, 63, 3; VIII, 41, 10; X, 48, 11.
- 7 Which also comes out in the R̥gvedic expression 'ṛta-dhāman.' (Rv. I, 123, 9; IV, 7, 7; VII, 36, 5; X, 124, 3).
- 8 Rv. VII, 82, 1; I, 51, 15.
- 9 See also infra. for other uses of this term.
- 10 Rv. X, 91, 2.
- 11 Rv. VII, 82, 1.
- 12 Rv. X, 179, 2.
- 13 Av. I, 14, 3; etc.
- 14 Sat. Brā. I, 1, 2, 22; II, 1, 4, 4; 4, 1, 14; XI, 5, 3, 11; 8, 1, 3; XIII, 4, 2, 7; Brhad. Upan. I, 5, 32; Chānd. Upan. III, 13, 6, etc.
- 15 E.g. in 'deva-kula'; cf. 'guru-kula.' But cf. 'kula vadhū' and cognate forms.
- 16 Rv. I, 31, 15; V, 2, ; Vāj. Sam. XVIII, 15; Taitt. Brā. II, 3, 5, 4; III, 7, 3, 3; etc.
- 17 Rv. IV, 19, 9; VII, 19, 5; (sense of colonial settlement possible—'after destroying 99 cities. Indra entered the 100th for 'niveśana'").
- 18 But in Mār. Pur. XLIX, 49—50, 'vasati' is given the technical sense of mart or trading settlement or quarter of a town. Cf. Eastern vern. 'vesāti=mart, merchandise, etc. Cf. also R̥gvedic 'vasna' and vern. 'vāsan.'
- 19 This however may have been equally a Vedic sense (vide n. 17 above); and the 'Sūtra' sense could be derived from it owing to the connection of cattle-stalls with fresh colonial settlements.
- 20 Aśval. Gr̥h. Sūt. IV, 6; etc.

'Pastyā' (f)¹ or 'pastya' (n),² occurring singly, or in the compounds 'pastyā-vant',³ 'pastya-vant'³ and 'pastya-sad',⁴ are other terms denoting a house or dwelling, and hence family, while in the feminine form even the goddess of the homestead may be so designated.⁵ 'Pastyā' was occasionally also applied to the 'stall for horses,' the whole being used for a part, e.g., in 'asva-pastya'⁶ and 'pastyā-vant marya'⁷; but it had usually, along with 'harmya',⁸ a special significance of 'the home with all its adjuncts and surroundings,' 'the family settlement,' apparently a nobleman's abode (having stables, etc.). 'Vāstu' seems to mean simply 'dwelling-house' or 'settlements generally'⁹ in the compound epithet 'su-vāstu'¹⁰; but in 'vāstoṣ-pati'¹¹ it approaches the later (even modern) and more special meaning of 'the site of a house'¹²; these imports of 'a group of houses' or 'settlement,' and of 'a site presided over by some deity,' are also conveyed by 'pastyā' in several passages.¹³ 'Māna' is a house as being a measured structure, wherein the house-builder saw a spirit 'mānasya patnī,' mistress of the house-structure.¹⁴ 'Āyatana,' 'enclosure,' had an earlier general sense of 'abode' or 'home,'¹⁵ but later on was specialized in use, like 'kula,' and referred to some sacred structure within such enclosure.¹⁵ 'Viś' is a term which gradually narrowed in significance, from 'settlement'¹⁶ to 'the assembly-hall of the settlement,' and then to 'any house,' as is shown by the uses of the

1 Rv. I, 25, 10; 40, 7; 164, 30; IV, 1, 11; VI, 49, 9; VII, 97, 5; IX, 65, 23; X, 46, 6; (also corresponding passages in Yv.).

2 Rv. X, 96, 10.11; cf. VIII, 39, 8; VI, 58, 2; IX, 98, 12; V, 50, 4.

3 Rv. I, 151, 2; IX, 97, 18; II, 11, 16; IV, 54, 5; VIII, 7, 29; (IV, 55, 3; VIII, 27, 5).

4 Rv. VI, 51, 9; Roth, St. Pet. Dic., s.v.; Pischel: Ved. Stud. 2, 211.

5 Rv. IV, 55, 3; VIII, 27, 5.

6 Rv. IX, 86, 41; Av. VI, 77, 1; XIX, 55, 1.

7 Rv. IX, 97, 18; prob. I, 91, 13.

8 Cf. VI, I, 229, 30; Rv. VII, 56, 16; cf. X, 106, 5.

9 Cf. the similar use of vern. 'vasti' (from 'vasati').

10 Rv. VIII, 19, 17; (Nir. IV, 15).

11 E.g. in Taitt. Sam. III, 4, 10; cf. Macdonell: Ved. Myth., 138; Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 236.

12 As opposed to the 'ksetra,' holding, also presided over by a deity; cf. Rv. IV, 37, 1, 2; etc.; Av. II, 12, 1; etc.

13 E.g. in Rv. VIII, 7, 29; VIII, 27, 5; IV, 55, 3; respectively; cf. Pischel's explanation of 'pastyā' = a river, having groups of houses on its banks.

14 Av. IX, 3; III, 12; cf. the later structural technical terms: 'vāstumāna' (in Pur.), 'māna-sāra' (the treatise).

15 E.g. in Chānd. Upan. VII, 24, 2; so also in the Epic; it is applied subsequently to temples and monasteries enclosed by walls.

16 Rv. IV, 4, 3; 37, 1; V, 3, 5; VI, 21, 4; 48, 8; VII, 56, 22; 61, 3; 70, 3; 104, 18; X, 91, 2; etc. (But in some of these the sense of 'dwelling-house' may also suit.)

compounds 'viś-pati'¹ and 'viś-patnī'.² A cognate term 'veśman'³ denotes 'house as the place where one is settled.' House or holding in its aspect of acquired property,⁴ is designated by 'vidatha'; but its specialized derivative meanings are quite early and manifold, amongst which may be noted those of 'asylum',⁵ 'family assembly or sacrifice',⁵ 'a smaller⁷ or secular assembly',⁸ 'a rich or royal establishment like palaces'.⁹

A few common house-names were derived from ordinary features of building construction, such as 'āyatana',¹⁰ referring to the enclosing walls, railings or fencings; or 'duraṇa',¹¹ 'gateway,' secondarily implying a house as characterized by such a feature. Another structural term is 'śālā,' primarily a thatch of 'paddy-straw',¹² for shelter of men or their cattle and stores, then the 'homestead inclusive of such stalls and sheds',¹³ and finally 'house' generally, as in 'śālāpati,' 'house-holder',¹⁴ or even a section or a single room of a house, as in 'patnī-śālā'¹⁵ or 'agni-śālā'¹⁵; apparently it came to be quite early used of flourishing and wealthy residences as well,

1 Rv. I, 12, 2; 26, 7; 164, 1; II, 1, 8; III, 2, 10; 40, 3; VII, 39, 2; IX, 108, 10; X, 4, 4; 135, 1; etc.; cf. also VIII, 55, 5=Av. IV, 5, 6.

2 Taitt. Sam. III, 1, 11, 4.

3 Rv. X, 107, 10; 146, 3; Av. V, 17, 13; IX, 6, 30; Ait. Brā. VIII, 24, 6.

4 J. Am. Or. S., 19, 12ff.; cf. Rv. I, 117, 25; II, 1, 6; X, 85, 26, 27; Av. XVIII, 3, 70.

5 Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 261; cf. Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 13, and Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XV, 3, 35; cf. also Rv. I, 31, 6; V, 62, 6; Ait. Brā. I, 30, 27, 28.

6 According to Bloomfield and V.I.: cf. connexion of women chiefly with this, but rarely with the 'sabbā'; cf. also Rv. X, 85, 26, 27; Av. VII, 38, 4; Mait. Sam. IV, 7, 4.

7 Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 177; Rv. II, 27, 12.

8 According to Roth: Rv. II, 1, 4; 27, 12, 17; III, 38, 5, 6; V, 63, 2; VII, 66, 10; VIII, 39, 1; X, 12, 7; Av. I, 13, 4; XVII, 1, 15.

9 Rv. IV, 27, 2; cf. I, 91, 20; 167, 3; Av. XX, 128, 1.

10 Vide n. 15, p. 3.

11 Vide p. 32, n. 4—5, and p. 33, n. 1—4; 'dur,' 'durya' and 'duryaṇa' also have a similar secondary sense.

12 As 'śālā' is a term practically confined to the Av. (vide infra.), it is highly probable that it represents some indigenous word, presumably the same as the Eastern vern. 'cālā,' of equivalent form, and of exactly the same significances ('cālā' and 'cāl' also having a common figurative sense of house, room, etc.); E. vern. 'cāl' (rice) corresponds to Sans. 'śāli'; cf. 'vicālī' = straw, i.e. 'taken out of śāli or paddy plants'; for E. vern. 'c' = Sans. 'ś,' cf. infra.,—'kaṣipu' = Tamil 'kacci-pā'.

13 Av. III, 12, 1ff; V, 31, 5; VI, 106, 3; VIII, 6, 10; IX, 3, 1ff; XIV, 1, 63; Taitt. Brā. I, 2, 3, 1; Sat. Brā. III, 1, 1, 6; etc.

14 Av. IX, 3, 12.

15 Vide pp. 30-31.

as indicated by names of princes and noted priests, like 'Mahā-sāla' ('big-housed') 'Prācīsa-sāla' ('ancient-housed')¹.

It is significant that 'sālā,' etc., do not occur even once in the Rv., while almost all the references to them belong to the Av., which applies this term also to a particular type of 'straw and bamboo' house² whose construction it describes. On the other hand 'duraṇa,' etc., are specially Rgvedic terms, while 'āyatana' belongs to the Upaniṣads and the Epic. In the comparatively drier and hotter Upper Gangetic regions, the 'entrance' and 'enclosure' aspects³ of the dwelling-house must have been naturally more prominent⁴ than the protective covering overhead: and the references to these features and their figurative use, accordingly, occur in texts that were mainly of Midlandic origin; again, it is only in the rain-flooded Lower Gangetic country that the roof is naturally all-important, and has to be built carefully⁵: and accordingly, the 'sālā' (thatch) is prominent, and means the house itself, in texts that were largely of Eastern Gangetic (and indigenous) origin. So also in subsequent developments of Indian architecture,⁶ these two main styles may be recognized: one characterized by various modifications of the 'enclosure' and the 'gateway',⁷ another by those in roofing⁸; and it is remarkable that 'roof' architecture throughout the greater part of India (and in all periods) bears a distinct stamp of the Lower Gangetic 'cālā', (sālā), whether we look to the dome of the 'stūpa',¹⁰ the convex 'śaiva'¹¹ roof with projecting eaves, or the curved and tapering 'vaiṣṇava'¹¹ 'śikhara.'

It is quite in accordance with the pre-eminently agricultural and pastoral character of early Vedic life that the house is at first very closely associated with the stalls for domestic animals. Thus the cowstall, the wagon and the

1 E.g. Sat. Brā. X, 3, 3, 1; 6, 1, 1; Chānd. Upan. V, 11, 1; Muṇḍ. Upan. I, 1, 3; cf. the early royal names 'Mahā-sāla' and 'Vi-sāla' in the Purāṇic dynastic lists.

2 Vide infra, p. 28ff.

3 Cf. the sense of 'enclosure' in 'vr̥jana' and 'vraja,' which is also described as 'sārgala' and 'sapariśraya' (with gate and palisade); vide infra; these terms also are specially Rgvedic.

4 As it is even to-day.

5 As the modern 'P.W.D.' knows very well.

6 E.g. in Mauryan and post-Mauryan examples.

7 E.g. the timber palisades or stone-railings.

8 E.g. the famous 'torana,' a form comparable to 'duraṇa,' which may have been the prototype,—an ornamental gateway, instead of an ordinary 'dvār (a).'

9 E.g. the so-called 'barrel-shaped' tops of monasteries, etc.

10 In Buddhist—i.e. Magadhan styles.

11 Miscalled 'Dravidian' and 'Indo-Aryan' respectively by Fergusson; really they are both developments from the same Bengal thatch or 'cālā,' adapted to local conditions (vide Havell's works for proper interpretation).

house are mentioned together¹ in the same breath as it were. 'Sālā'² and 'pastya(ā)'³ imply accommodation of some sort for both men and their beasts.⁴ 'Gotra' and 'vra(ā)ja,' all originally arrangements for accommodation of cattle, were so intimately connected with the ordinary life of their possessors, that these names came to be employed equally or almost at the same time with reference to men. Thus 'vrāja,'⁵ pen, also denotes a pastoral settlement (under a chief)⁶ including many 'kulas' and 'vrajas' (in the narrower sense); in subsequent literature also (classical and modern), 'vraja' (possibly also the representative of the older 'vrjana')⁷ has the regular sense of a closely organized pastoral settlement with the human and bovine elements equally prominent.⁸ What the 'vraja' originally was, does not clearly appear: Geldner derives it from 'vraj,' to go, giving it the primary meaning of pasture, while Roth prefers the derivation from 'vrj,'⁹ which gives the primary meaning of enclosure or pen; probably both senses are mixed up in the passages where it occurs; the later (vernacular) use of 'vraja'¹⁰ agrees with this view: the frequently occurring sense of pen¹¹ or stall¹² cannot be derived from 'vraj,' to go, but the sense of 'pasture'¹³ is possible from 'vrj' to enclose; for a common pasture may very well have been an enclosure with a hedge, fence or palisade; it seems that such a defensible 'enclosure' with palisade and gateway,¹⁴ rather than a 'pen' with fence and latch, is referred to in 'sārgala' and 'sapariśraya' 'vraja'¹⁵: the sense of a protected pastoral settlement can easily evolve out of this. The 'vraja,' when a cowstall is meant by it, was made of Aśvattha¹⁶ wood, well built to make it warm,¹⁷ and had doors whose wide sweep¹⁸ suggested conceptions like that of the dawn opening wide the doors of the 'vraja' of darkness, or Death being 'vrāja-bāhu.'¹⁹ 'Gotra' is supposed by Geldner

1 Av. II, 14, 2.

2 Cf. n. 13, p. 4.

3 Cf. n. 6, and n. 7, p. 3.

4 Specially horses in the latter case.

5 Kauś. Brā. II, 9 (in the sense of 'pen,' the other form 'vraja' is much more common in earlier Vedic lit.).

6 Rv. X, 179, 2; Av. VII, 72, 2.

7 Cf. n. 8, p. 1.

8 E.g. in all literature dealing with Kṛṣṇa episodes.

9 St. Pet. Dict., s.v.

10 As a pastoral yet compact and organized settlement.

11 Av. III, II, 15; IV, 38, 7; Śaṅkh. Araṇ. II, 16; probably Rv. X, 97, 10; 101, 8.

12 Rv. X, 4, 2; cf. IV, 51, 2; Taitt. Brā. III, 8, 12, 2; Vāj. Sam. I, 25.

13 Probably in Rv. II, 38, 8; X, 26, 3; (cf. the derivative sense of 'herd' in other passages cited in n. 4, V.I., II, 340).

14 Cf. 'gomati' 'purs' or forts, infra.

15 Brhad. Upan. (Mādḥ.), VI, 4, 22. (These may have been the original models of the Jaina and Buddhist 'pinjrapoles,' which represent such 'vrajas' rather closely).

16 Taitt. Brā. III, 8, 12, 2; (cf. Vāja. Sam. I, 25).

17 Rv. X, 4, 2.

18 Rv. IV, 51, 2.

19 Kauś. Brā. II, 9.

to have the primary meaning of 'herd',¹ which alone he thinks would explain its later use as 'family' or 'clan'.² But Roth's interpretation of it as 'cowstall' as a structure³ is better: firstly, as the suffix 'tra' is also indicative of place; secondly, as the sense of a whole clan can easily be derived from the sense of a cowstall, common and spacious, where a whole clan kept their cattle⁴; and thirdly, as 'goṣṭha'⁵ is similarly used of the Bharata clan, and 'goṣṭhī'⁶ later on, by a similar transition, comes to mean a social circle. Geldner thinks that in all passages where 'goṣṭha' occurs,⁶ the sense of 'grazing ground' is better and suits all.⁷ But here again, Whitney's and Bloomfield's rendering of stall or stable⁸ is more appropriate, as the 'sṭha' points to some sort of a standing structure, a stand or stall, and cannot, evidently, refer to 'grazing': so that 'goṣṭha' would mean literally the standing place for cows. It is significant that even in modern vernacular 'goṣṭha' is always contrasted with 'māṭha' (meadow), with which it is combined to form a phrase. The use of 'goṣṭha' in Ait. Brā.⁹ is interesting: the cows of the Bharatas are there said to be in the 'goṣṭha' at evening and in the 'saṃgavinī' at mid-day: Sāyaṇa adds in explanation (not very clear in itself) that their milch-cows were kept at night in 'śālās,' but the rest of the cattle in the 'goṣṭha.' Here 'goṣṭha' cannot mean open pasturage; and 'saṃgavinī' also seems to be some sort of an open shed where the noon-tide milking was done; 'goṣṭha' and 'saṃgavinī' therefore would mean cowstalls and cattle-sheds attached to the clan-abodes and set up in the fields, respectively, while the 'śālās' may have been special sheds for milch-cows with isolated compartments or each such cow may have been isolated in its separate 'śālā'.¹⁰ It would also appear that the 'goṣṭha' belonged to the whole clan, e.g., of the Bharatas,¹¹ and not to the

1 Geldner: Ved. Stud. 2, 275-276.

2 Cf. Chānd. Upan. IV, 4, 1; Śāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. I, 4, 16; etc.; Āśval. Grh. Sūt. IV, 4; etc.; Kauṣ. Brā. XXV, 15; etc. (It is to be noted that Purāṇic tradition places the rise of noted 'ṛṣi gotras' (clans) much earlier than the period indicated by these references. Thus the 'clan' sense is not a late one.)

3 St. Pet. Dict., s.v.

4 The suitability of such interpretation is evident in Rv. I, 51, 3; II, 17, 1; 23, 18; III, 39, 4; 43, 7; VIII, 74, 5; X, 48, 2; 103, 7.

5 Vide infra.

6 Rv. I, 191, 4; VI, 23, 1; VIII, 43, 17=Av. III, 14, 1.5.6; II, 26, 2=Vāja. Sam. III, 21: V, 17.—Kāth. Sam. VIII, 7; Mait. Sam. IV, 2, 11=Ait. Brā. III, 18, 4; Sat. Brā. XI, 8, 3, 2; etc.

7 Sp. in Av. III, 14.

8 In Av. op. cit.

9 Ait. Brā. III, 18, 14.

10 Cf. 'śālā,' ante, p. 4, n. 13.

11 Examples of ruling and influential priestly families possessing large herds of cattle (often with special structures for these) are well-known in Epic-Purāṇic tradition, and the Bharatas are actually amongst them.

individual houses or holdings; and it is thus very probable that the gradually more and more specialized social association and unit of the 'goṣṭhī,' often mentioned later, in Buddhist and classical literature,¹ grew out of the merry clan-gatherings at the 'goṣṭha' in the evening after the day's toil and adventures in the fields and pastures.²

Just as the later 'club-house'³ (goṣṭhī) was developed out of the common cattle-stand, so also some other types of associations and their suitable structures were closely connected with ordinary domestic conditions. 'Vidatha' must be derived from 'vid,' to acquire, rather than from 'vid,' to know, which gives the plausible meaning of something like the Witan to the 'vidatha,' but which can account for only a few of its many senses; 'vidatha' therefore originally meant holding or house⁴; but it is very often used in wider senses, involving the ideas of a larger structure and some sort of assemblage. Thus in different passages Ludwig sees the sense of a sanctuary or asylum,⁵ and Zimmer that of a smaller assembly than the 'samiti'⁶; where a 'Samrāt' is spoken of as 'vidathya,'⁷ the 'vidatha' must have been a royal establishment, a court or audience-hall; where women are connected with the 'vidatha'⁸ (but not usually with the 'sabhā'), it may mean a household assembly, social or religious, and the accommodation for such an assembly; while Roth makes out a reference to some secular wider type of assembly in many other passages.⁹ 'Vidatha' accordingly stands for quite a variety of building structures, from probably the quadrangle or large hall of a homestead to specialized structures suitable for public use or court life.

1 Various aspects of the 'goṣṭhī,' economic and social, are indicated and detailed in the early Pāli texts, Kauṭilya, and Vāts. Kā. Sūtra; the term has subsequently degenerated into the colloquial vernacular "goṣṭh(t)ī."

2 The traditional picture of Kṛṣṇa's early life (in some of the Purāṇas also) is an illustration of how this development may have actually happened.

3 This is the special sense in Buddhist and post-Mauryan literature (e.g. in Vāts. Kā. Sūt.).

4 J. Am. Or. S., 19, 12ff.; cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27; I, 117, 25; II, 1, 6; Av. XVIII, 3, 70.

5 Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 261; cf. Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 13; Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XV, 3, 35; also Rv. I, 31, 6; V, 62, 6; Ait. Brā. I, 30, 27.28.

6 Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 177; Rv. II, 27, 12.

7 Rv. IV, 27, 2; cf. I, 91, 20; 167, 3; AV, XX, 128, 1.

8 Av. VII, 38, 4; Mait. Sam. IV, 7, 4; cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27 (= Av. XIV, 1, 20.25).

9 Rv. II, 1, 4; 27, 12.17; III, 38, 5.6; V, 63, 2; VII, 66, 10; VIII, 39, 1; X, 12, 7; Av. I, 13, 4; XVII, 1, 15.

The well-known 'sabhā' is no less ambiguous in significance: the usually accepted view is that it denotes the 'assembly' of the Vedic Indians as well as the 'hall' where it met; Hillebrandt however thinks that the 'sabhā' designates primarily the 'house of assembly' while 'samiti' (also frequently occurring in Vedic literature) stands for the 'assembly' itself; but it is noteworthy that while the 'sabhā' has a number of functions and aspects² ascribed to it in the Vedic literature, the most particular detail available about the 'samiti' is that kings and princes frequented them³: hence the 'samiti' was more a political institution than the 'sabhā,' and of a select character, though the 'vis' are associated with both.⁴ According to this view the 'sabhā' would be the hall of the widest assembly of a community and the 'vidatha' the quadrangle or hall of the unit family assembly; and 'samiti' would have to be placed between these two types. In fact the 'vidatha' does develop into the 'samiti' type: for in some passages the 'vidatha' may have the developed sense of a public sanctuary or asylum,⁵ and in some others⁶ the 'samrāt' is 'vidathya' or 'holding court,' in of course a suitable place: this latter use would correspond to the 'samiti' associated chiefly with princes. In the Av. the 'sabhā' and the 'samiti' are frequently mentioned together,⁷ as equally ancient institutions⁸ (where prepared speeches were made),⁹ which were to be found even in villages¹⁰; while both were mainly composed of tribesmen and followed the King, the former was associated with the army, and the latter with 'strong drink'¹¹; and the 'sabhā,' 'samiti,' and 'āmantrana' are mentioned as assembly-houses in order of increasing limitation.¹² On the whole therefore the 'samiti' seems to have been a narrower institution. But there are other difficulties: there seem to have been several types of the 'sabhā' itself. Though

1 Hillebrandt: Ved. Myth., 2, 124, note 6.

2 Vide infra.

3 Vide V.I., II, 430-1.

4 Av. III, 19, 1; IX, 7, 9; XV, 9, 2.3.

5 Vide ante.

6 Vide ante.

7 Vide following notes. Cf. similar association in the modern vernacular phrase 'sabhā-samiti,' and its use in the sense of 'wider assemblies and smaller committees.' (So also the vernacular expression 'goṣṭhi-gotra' affords a clue to the relation between these two parallel early institutions: 'gotra' referring to the smaller unit of a family or 'kin,' and 'goṣṭhi' to the whole tribe or clan; in Buddhist and Maurya periods, the 'goṣṭhi' is specially associated with the 'gaṇa,' which was wider than the 'gotra'.).

8 Av. VII, 12, 1 (2 dtrs. of Prajāpati, etc.).

9 Av. XII, 1, 56; cf. VII, 12, 1.

10 Av. XII, 1, 56.

11 Av. XV, 9, 2.3; (the context would show that the Av. regarded these institutions as originally derived from the 'Vrātya' Kingship of Magadha).

12 Av. VIII, 10, 5.6; cf. Rv. I, 91, 20, where a fit son is 'śadanya,' 'vidathya' and 'sabheya' in increasing order of eminence.

it is possible to conclude that all the multifold functions attributed to the 'sabhā' in different contexts were performed in one and the same institution and structure called 'sabhā,' a state of affairs natural in primitive polity¹ (cf. Hellenic parallels), yet it is reasonable to suppose that increasing complexity of functions very soon (even before the age of the later Samhitās) led to a division into several correlated institutions also called 'sabhās.' Thus, for example, the increase of gambling, so closely associated with the 'sabhā' from the very beginning, would in all likelihood lead to the growth of a type of special gambling halls, where this would not interfere with other more serious functions of the 'sabhā'; the everpresent and expert gamblers, the 'sabhā-sthānus'² would then leave the assessors, the 'sabhāsads' undisturbed in their judicial dignity; the two sets cannot very well be posited of the same hall at the same time. So also, we hear of the 'sabhāvin',³ the keeper of the gambling hall, as distinct from the 'sabhā-pāla',⁴ the warden of the assembly-hall; and of the 'grāmya-vādin',⁵ the village judge or town-reeve, in his 'sabhā,' or court, which is here apparently separate from the gambling hall. Then again, certain other early uses of the word 'sabhā' would necessitate either a supposition that it was evolved out of domestic or individual household conditions, or one that we have in these instances a particular domestic use of the word. Thus when 'Agni' of the 'sabhā' is specially designated 'viśpati,' or master of the dwelling,⁶ there is an evident reference to domestic conditions. In some passages in the later Samhitās (and subsequently) the 'sabhā' evidently refers to the 'society-room' in a private dwelling-house⁷; and earlier still, 'sabheya'⁸ and 'sabhāvān rayiḥ'⁹ seem to have been used domestically; while in 'sabhāvati yoṣā',¹⁰ of the Rv.,

1 So also in Mbh. II, 56—71, the same gathering (in the same hall) of gambling princes and others watching the game, is subsequently appealed to as a court of justice with its 'full bench.' But in the same period, at the Matsya capital the 'sabhā' (where dice is played and a council of war is held) has an offshoot, the music-and dancing-hall.

2 Vāja. Sam. XXX, 18; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 16, 1.

3 Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 16, 1.

4 Taitt. Brā. III, 7, 4, 5.

5 Taitt. Sam. II, 3, 1, 3; Kāth. Sam. XI, 4; Mait. Sam. II, 2, 1.

6 Vide ante, note 1, page 4.

7 Av. XIX, 55, 6 ('my sabhā'); Taitt. Sam. III, 4, 8, 6 (a man's 'sabhā'); Taitt. Brā. I, 1, 10, 3; probably Chānd. Upan. VIII, 14 (Prajāpati's abode and sabhā).

8 Rv. II, 24, 13; I, 91, 20 (probable); Av. XX, 128, 1; Vāja. Sam. XXII, 22.

9 Rv. IV, 2, 5.

10 Rv. I, 167, 3. Cf. Rv. X, 85, 26.27=Av. XIV, I, 20.21 (where the bride, either in advanced age, or earlier if she comes to control her home, is expected to 'speak unto the council').

though it is equally permissible to see in it a reference to the presence of women in the greater assemblies, the use is probably a domestic one, meaning something like 'the lady in the drawing-room.' It would thus appear that, whichever be the earlier model, the sitting-room of a private home had much in common with the wider assembly hall, and that the structure and equipment of the 'sabhā,' domestic or public, was of one and the same type originally. So also, both the central hall of a dwelling-house and the assembly hall had their fire-altars,¹ the prototypes of the later 'worship-room' ('*ṭhākur-ghar*') in private houses, of the nave ('*caitya*') in the Buddhist congregation halls, and of the sacred antechamber ('*ṭhākur-dālān*') in assembly halls of all descriptions (e.g. the '*nāṭya-śālā*' or '*nāṭ-mandir*') : the difference being probably only in the size and type of the altar or other sacred symbol and in the number and variety of the '*sthāṇus*' or pillars. The '*sabhā*' in its wider sense must have been a large edifice with some pretensions to architecture; apart from the altar² and pillars,³ there must have been more or less suitable structural arrangements for the transaction of judicial, commercial and political business, and reception of courtly, well-born, wealthy persons and kings; and the complexity of the structure must have been greater where the same building was used for the other '*sabhā*'-ic functions,—gambling, merriment, social intercourse, debates and contests.⁴ Probably when the social and festive branch of the '*sabhā*' became separated it merged with the natural clan-gatherings at the '*goṣṭha*,' and led to the formation of the later '*goṣṭhi*,' whose functions were pre-eminently social and pleasurable.

Associations of learned men called '*pariśads*' were in existence in the later Vedic period,⁵ and the origin of this institution may well be referred to the earlier epoch⁶; at any rate these '*pariśads*' were early converted into administrative institutions (councils of judges and ministers), and it is very probable that the '*pariśad*' either held its sittings in the traditional '*sabhā*,'⁷ or came to possess a special habitation of its

1 Rv. III, 23, 4; V, 3, 11; VII, 7, 5; Av. VIII, 10, 1-5; XIX, 55, 6. (This led to a metaphorical use of '*viśpati*'; so also, apparently, the priest prayed at the '*sabhā*' altar while the King fought: V.I., II, 5).

2 Vide note 1 above.

3 Vide ante, n. 2, p. 10; so also in the Epic, pillars are the main features of *sabhās*, while there are various adjuncts according to special needs and circumstances.

4 For references for these several functions of the '*sabhā*,' vide V.I., II, 426-427.

5 Temp. Brhad. Upan. Jaim. Upan. Brā. and Gobh. Gr. Sūt.; vide details in VI., I, 497.

6 This institution also was apparently originally of a pastoral character; the '*pariśad*,' rich in kine, is said to have been made by the ancient fathers (*Āngirasas*, etc.) for men: Av. XVIII, 3, 22; cf. Rv. IV, 2, 17.

7 Which had its judicial side.

own. As the 'pariṣads' were mainly sittings around of 'ācāryas,' specialists in law and custom, sacred and secular, and as these 'ācāryas' had their 'kulas' which were commodious enough for resident students and their own families it would be quite natural for the sessions to have been held in some block of these 'kulas' ordinarily. These 'ācārya-kulas' were not¹ merely one or two wretched huts (like their declining and impoverished modern representatives, the 'tols'). It seems probable that youths of all the classes of society were required² to, and even girls optionally could,³ reside for a certain period in 'brahmacarya,' though the period of such discipline may well have varied from class to class, and much of the course been optional or unnecessary for the non-brāhmaṇ and girl pupils.⁴ These 'kulas' then must have been quite capacious and complex in plan.⁵ A teacher might admit quite a number of pupils,⁶ and Vedic as well as Epic-Purāṇic traditions refer to more or less specified numbers of resident students⁷ in particular establishments. The 'ācārya' was to teach everything to at least those staying on with him for a year,⁸ while many students would stay on in their teacher's house for twelve to thirty-two years, even after the Vedas were done.⁹ Hence the teacher of the later Vedic period must have had in his 'kula' sufficient accommodation of a permanent nature to provide for such prolonged stays and no doubt also frequent migrations¹⁰: such provision must have been possible largely through the voluntary fees of sons of

- 1 Thus in Epic-Purāṇic tradition these are fully prosperous establishments, where princes are entertained sumptuously, and are quite comfortable places for them to be in residence for instruction.
- 2 Re. probability of this system, vide V.I., II, 75.
- 3 As the application of 'brahmacarya' to unmarried girls (who thus become fit for marriage) in the Av. shows, together with a number of actual cases known to Epic-Purāṇic tradition.
- 4 Buddhist Burmah still retains a trace, in its system of education, of this ancient Indian theory and practice.
- 5 The Epic-Purāṇic accounts always depict them as such; cf. the description in Mbh. Śakuntalop^o.
- 6 Taitt. Āraṇ. VII, 3; cf. Taitt. Upan. I, 4 (students flocking from all sides.).
- 7 Cf. the quite reasonable numbers of residents said to have been killed in some ṛṣi āśramas by the Kālakeya raids of tradition. (That the Vāsiṣṭha teachers of an earlier period had full 'classes' is shown by the famous 'frog-hymn' in Rv.). In the Jātaka tradition the average number of students resident with renowned professors is 500.
- 8 Sat. Brā. XIV, 1, 1, 26.27; cf. Ait. Āraṇ. V, 3, 3.
- 9 Chānd. Upan. IV, 10, 1; cf. III, 11, 5; Taitt. Upan. I, 11, 1; etc.
- 10 For some left before completing a year, and migrations from teacher to teacher were frequent, specially in the cases of students who wanted solutions of special difficulties.

nobles and princes,¹ about which the Epic and other ancient traditions say a good deal. What the general plan of these 'kulas' were, we may gather from the terms 'ante-vāsin'² and 'ācārya-kula-vāsin'³ used of the resident student: he dwelt near by, but in the outskirts as it were, yet it was all within the teacher's family home or establishment; i.e., the pupils' quarters were in separate blocks a little apart, which were still part of the same structural unit. We might discover in these 'ācārya-kulas' of the earlier epoch (residence in 'brahmacarya' being known as early as the Atharva-veda⁴) the same general plan which characterizes the later monastic establishments,⁵ Buddhist or otherwise,—a quadrangular structure with cells on all sides and the shrine and abbot's cell in the centre of the quad, or with the cells on three sides and the East-facing block set apart for the abbot and the shrine. The 'pariśads' of learned men, therefore (and the similar but mainly theological associations of the 'upanīśads,' or sacred and 'secret' sessions to discuss the mysteries of theology), together with the 'ācārya-kulas' (of which they were probably special developments), may be looked upon as the later (or even early) Vedic beginnings, out of which the pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic centres of learning of the 'residential university' type⁶ were evolved.

So also we find the prototypes of the Buddhistic trunk-roads and travellers' rest houses in Vedic conditions. Road-making indeed proceeded side by side⁷ with the Āryan settlement: with reference to the extension of settlements in the new land, the clearing of forests, and making of roads, gods like Agni and Pūṣan, and 'r̥ṣis' (like the Roman 'pontifices') are called 'pathi-kṛt,' the path-makers.⁸ The Vedic builders were not long content with forest-tracks or village-paths; for even in the R̥gveda (and later Samhitās) we find the 'prapatha' or long journey by (broad) road,⁹ and the Atharva-veda refers to

¹ Cf. the teacher's prayer in Taitt. Upan. I, 4, for material prosperity along with influx of large numbers of students.

² Vide n. 9, p. 12; also, Sat Brā. V, 1, 5, 17; Brhad. Upan. VI, 3, 7; Taitt. Upan. I, 3, 3; cf. Ait. Araṇ. III, 2, 6; Śāṅkh. Āraṇ. VIII, 1, 1.

³ Chānd. Upan. II, 23, 2 (settling long therein). Cf. note 4 below.

⁴ 'Brahmacaryeṇa vas': Av. VII, 109, 7; Ait. Brā. V, 14; cf. Av. XI, 5 (re the 'student').

⁵ E.g. as represented in the sculptures of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.

⁶ Traces of whose elaborate structural arrangements are now being unearthed at the sites of Takṣa-śilā and Nālanda.

⁷ If indeed roads were not there already; the cross-country roads feeding the ancient S.W. seaports, may have been much older than Āryan settlement. [The Sindh-Punjab excavations of 1924 seem to prove existence of such ports in the pre-Āryan India of the 3rd millennium B.C.]

⁸ Vide refs. in VI., I, 489-490.

⁹ Rv. X, 17, 4, 6; 53, 16; (cf. Ait. Brā. VII, 15). Kāth. Sam. XXXVII, 14.

the 'parirathyā' or road suitable for chariots.¹ 'Setu' is found from the Rg- and Yajur-vedas onwards,² but the precise sense does not come out clearly. It has been held that a causeway of an ordinary type, merely a raised bank for crossing inundated land is meant, and that its use is probably metaphorical in Vedic literature; but a metaphorical use of a term can hardly come into existence unless there has been previous simple use of it, and the sort of structure indicated here would be quite natural to and characteristic of the Gangetic delta, but can hardly be referred to the pre-eminent Vedic regions (or Madhyadeśa): besides, there is no inconsistency in ascribing to the 'setu' the sense of a causeway of some 'special' structure, a dam or a bridge (more of use in the Vedic regions proper), when we find long road-journeys performed and drives constructed.³ Later on (in the Brāhmaṇas) villages are connected with 'mahā-pathas' or high roads⁴; and causeways ('badvan') firmer than an ordinary road are known.⁵ A much earlier reference, to well-made pleasant cart-roads, on a higher level than adjoining fields, forests and other village-tracks, with great trees planted beside, passing through villages or towns, and with occasional pairs of pillars (i.e., gateways, evidently near the approaches of some town), is made in the Av.,⁶ where bridal processions pass through such routes. 'Prapatha' in the Yajur-veda has also the sense of a 'broad road'; while in Rv. itself 'prapathas' are also rest-houses, apparently on the 'prapatha' or high road, for the travellers, where 'khādi' or food may be obtained⁷; so also in the Av., where every 'tirtha' along the bridal route is said to be well provided with drink, the

¹ Av. VIII, 8, 22. Whitney translates 'rim'; but 'road' gives a better sense from the context, where a sacrifice is likened to a chariot journey. Cf. Av. XII, 1, 47 (many roads, for people to go upon, 'vartmans' for chariots, and for the going of the cart, by which men good or bad go about, free from enemies and robbers; v. 45 refers to many countries with people of different speech and customs).

² Rv. IX, 41, 2; Taitt. Sam. III, 2, 2, 1: VI, 1, 4, 9; 5, 3, 3; VII, 5, 8, 5; Kāth. Sam. XXVII, 4; Ait. Brā. III, 35; Taitt. Brā. II, 4, 2, 6: Sat. Brā. XIII, 2, 10, 1; Brhad. Upan. IV, 4, 4; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 4, 1, 2; etc.

³ Vide n. 8, p. 15, and n. 1 above.

⁴ Ait. Brā. IV, 17, 8; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 6, 2; (this agrees fully with early Buddhist references to such roads; vide also n. 6 below).

⁵ Pañc. Brā. I, 1, 4; cf. Lāt. Śr. Sūt. I, 1, 23.

⁶ Av. XIV, 1, 63 and XIV, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12. Such a road is 'ascended' from the village roads; it is possible that the 'pillar standing in the way' may refer to barrier posts, for the levying of toll or octroi on the trade routes.

⁷ Kāth. Sam. XXXVII, 14.

⁸ Rv. I, 166, 9 (Wilson; Trans. Rv. 2, 151). The reading 'prapadesu' is not necessary, as the connection between 'prapatha' the high road and 'prapatha' the rest-house is quite clear.

'tīrthas' are something like these 'prapathas' being rest-houses on the fords.¹ The Av., and some Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, mention the 'āvasatha,' which, though literally meaning dwelling, is not used in the general sense of abode till much later,² but which is used there in a special sense,³ a structure of some sort for the reception of guests, specially of brāhmaṇas and others on the occasion of feasts and sacrifices; it may have been something like the later 'dharma-śālās' or guest- and rest-houses,—though not necessarily on the high road. Travelling indeed seems to have been quite common: dwelling abroad and residence in foreign countries is mentioned in the Rv. itself,⁴ and the Av. has got its ceremonies for return from 'pravāsa' (along with the Grhya Sūtras),⁵ and vividly describes the weary merchant's homecoming; while the Yv. Saṃhitās know of 'yāyāvaras'⁶ or travelling mendicants, probably the predecessors of the itinerant monks of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.. The appellation 'Prapathin' given to a Yādava prince in the Rv.⁷ may probably indicate that princes of those times, like their successors a few centuries later, were already makers of long roads and philanthropic rest-houses.

Building-activities, indeed, developed in Vedic times not only through the needs of social and corporate life, as in the case of the 'goṣthī,' the 'vidatha,' the 'sabhā,' and the like, but also through the kings and lesser chieftains.⁸ In speaking of ancient Indian polity it is still customary to call up a vision of a sole monarch towering above a dead level of agricultural population; but evidence for the Vedic and Buddhistic periods does not point to such Chaldaean simplicity. It rather appears

1 Av. XIV, 2, 6.

2 E.g. Ait. Upan. III, 12.

3 Av. IX, 6, 5 (entertaining brāhmaṇas); Taitt. Brā. I, 1, 10, 6; III, 7, 4, 6; Sat. Brā. XII, 4, 4, 6; Chānd. Upan. IV, 1, 1; details in the Sūtras: Āpast. Sr. Sūt. V. 9, 3; Āpast. Dh. Sūt. I, 9, 25, 4.

4 Rv. VIII, 29, 8.

5 Av. VII, 60, 1-6; cf. Āśval. Grh. Sūt. 1, 15; Śāṅkh./Grh. Sūt. II, 17; etc.

6 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 1, 7; Kāth. Sam. XIX, 12. (The Epic tradition also assigns 'yāyāvara' sects, to which Jarat-Kāru belonged, to the period immediately after the close of the Rgvedic).

7 Rv. VIII, 1, 30 (the prince lauded for his superior weapons, horses and 'prapathas'). It is noteworthy that the name is given to a 'Yādava' prince, Asaṅga, who may be placed at the close of the Rgvedic period (being apparently the same as Asaṅga, the son or grandson of Satrājīt and a near relative of Kṛṣṇa); tradition ascribes (cf. Mbh., Hariv. & Br.) much building activity in S.W. India to the Yādavas of the Rgvedic period, and all that is known of ancient commercial activities, points to the early development of communications in those regions.

8 It would be most unusual, if they were not so developed. (Even the petty Pāṇḍāla and other princes lauded in the Rv. were evidently opulent, and there were greater and more famous kings than these).

that between the King and the common people there were intermediate ranks of a fighting nobility, analogous to the medieval knighthood of Europe or Rājput India. We must assume, for the Vedic (even Buddhistic) period, some such significance attaching to the well-known terms 'rājanya' and 'kṣatriya' (and other cognate words). Apart from this, it would appear that such a class is referred to in the 'ibhyas,' rich lords (in fact 'ibhya' later on¹ becomes a synonym for rich and noble), possessing retainers or elephants (privileges traditionally indicating lordliness),²—whom the King is said to devour as fire the forest.³ That the 'ibhyas' were nobles is quite clear, but what 'ibha' means is not equally so: Pischel and Geldner follow Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara's comments on the word in some passages in making it equivalent to elephants⁴; but though this meaning is common later on, it is not so as we go back; for the Nirukta gives both elephant and retainer as equally good meanings,⁵ while the Aśokan inscriptions have it in the sense of 'vaiśya' or subordinate.⁶ This latter use is significant for it shows that 'ibha' really had a special political or constitutional meaning. Hence, in the R̥gvedic and Yajurvedic passages where it occurs,⁷ it is better to take it in the sense of retainers and vassals, with Roth, Ludwig and Zimmer⁸; this entourage⁹ may well have included, besides servants and dependents, members of the 'ibhya's' own family, and young cadets from subordinate families of chieftains (specially in the case of princes).¹⁰ The existence of such lords is indicated also by the use of 'veśa' in all the

1 Chānd. Upan. I, 10, 1, 2; etc. (Vide V. I., p. 80, for other refs.). Even here the sense may be 'grāma' belonging to an 'ibhya' or nobleman, and hence 'having retainers and elephants,' i.e., 'rich.'

2 The Greek writers noted this for India of their time; cf. the epic story of King Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the Kurus remonstrating with a brāhmana for possessing an elephant.

3 Rv. I, 65, 4. (This relationship is a commonplace in 'Rājadharmā' tradition).

4 Sāy.^o and Mahi.^o on Taitt. Sam. I, 2, 14, 1 and Vāja. Sam. XIII, 9; with Pischel and Geldner: Ved. Stud. I, xv—xvi.

5 Nir. VI, 12.

6 Cf. Bühler: Z.D.M.G., 37, 279, on Edict. No. 5.

7 Rv. I, 84, 17; IV, 4, 1; IX, 57, 3; VI, 20, 8 (the Vedic proper name or title 'Smad-ibha' or Great Bran), Taitt. Sam. 1, 2, 14, 1; Vāja. Sam. XIII, 9.

8 Roth: Dict., s.v.; Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 246—7; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 167.

9 Cf. the 'upasti' (comp. to the epic 'upasthā' and medieval 'kāyastha') or dependents, clients proper of the King, not servile, but specially related, as opposed to ordinary subjects, including conquered tribal chiefs, ambitious men (like Sūtas and Grāmanis) and state officials. For references, vide V. I., 1, 96.

10 Cf. young princes of petty states in the entourage of the bigger King Javadratha, who serve him as standard-bearers, messengers, etc.,—in Mbh.

*Samhitās*¹ in the sense of vassal tenant or dependent neighbour: Geldner² is content with the meaning of a neighbour or member of the same village community; but this view is not tenable, as 'veśya' in *Rv.*³ is used definitely in the sense of dependence, and 'vaiśya' in *Taitt. Sam.* plainly means servitude⁴ (besides other derivatives⁵ used in the *Samhitās* with similar significance); again, the sense of neighbour belongs not to 'veśa' by itself but to 'prati-veśa,'⁶ (also used in the *Samhitās*), literally 'fellow-vassal,' hence a neighbour, the earlier word for it being 'nahuṣ,' of Indo-germanic origin. That vassalhood to a lord was not uncommon is indicated by expressions (in the *Atharva-veda* and some *Brāhmaṇas*) like 'nātha-kāma' or 'nātha-vid,'⁷ referring to men seeking the protection of lords, probably much as the protection of Anglo-Saxon earls and Norman barons was sought by the ordinary freeholder or cultivator.⁸

Now it follows from all this, that from the early Vedic times onwards there existed something like a feudal military baronage, connected with kings on the one hand and dependent vassals on the other, wealthy enough to excite the cupidity of the former and enjoy princely prerogatives, and powerful enough to protect the vassals who sought them. All this however would be impossible without something like baronial strongholds or other similar specialized structure. Evidently these are to be found in some at least of the Vedic 'purs.' According to this view the invocation of the king (in the *Rājasūya*) as 'purāṃ bhettā'⁹ gains appreciably in significance: an anti-baronial king fighting for suzerainty and order would certainly be better fitted for such eulogy than a simple 'breaker or sacker of cities,' which would be more to Assyrian taste. So also this view gives a better meaning to 'pur-pati' (of the *Rv.*)¹⁰ than that of a 'regular official, like "grāmañj,"

¹ *Rv.* IV, 3, 13; V, 85, 7; X, 49, 5 (prob.); *Vāj. Sam.* (Kāṇ); II, 5, 7; *Mait. Sam.* I, 4, 8; II, 3, 7; IV, 1, 13; *AV.* II, 32, 5; vide also notes 3-6 below.

² Geldner: *Ved. Stud.* 3, 135, note 4.

³ *Rv.* IV, 26, 3; VI, 61, 14.

⁴ *Taitt. Sam.* II, 3, 7, 1.

⁵ 'Veśas' and 'pariveśas' in the sense of chief and subordinate tenants of the King, as opposed to 'Kṣullakas' or petty proprietors, in *Av.* II, 32, 5; 'veśatva' in *Kāth. Sam.* XII, 5. (Cf. *St. Pet. Dict.*, s.v. 'veśa' and 'veśatva').

⁶ *Rv.* X, 66, 13; *Taitt. Sam.* II, 6, 97; *Vāj. Sam.* XI, 75; *Kāth. Sam.* XXXVI, 9; *Sat. Brā.* IV, 1, 5, 2; *Taitt. Upan.* I, 4, 3.

⁷ *Av.* XIII, 2, 37; XI, 1, 15; (cf. *Pañc. Brā.* XIV, 11, 23); *Av.* IV, 20, 9; IX, 2, 17; XVIII, 1, 13; *Taitt. Brā.* I, 6, 4, 1.

⁸ Cf. the Epic case of a robbed cattle-owner approaching Arjuna for protection; and the epic maxim that first a 'rājan' is to be selected or chosen, then a home may be established,—where 'rājan' is rather such a baron than the 'great king.'

⁹ Vide *V.I.* II, 219, for refs. to 'rāja-sūya' passages.

¹⁰ *Rv.* I, 173, 10; (cf. *Ludwig: Trans. Rv.* 3, 204; and *V.I.* II, 13-14.)

in charge of a permanently fortified settlement,' or 'a temporary commander of a temporary fort or garrison' (which latter is held to be more probable),¹—viz., 'lord of a castle,' an 'ibhya' or 'nātha.' Such a view is further supported by the fact that some of the 'purs' had names ascribed to them, such as Paṭharu,² Ūrjayanti,³ or Nārmini,⁴ while some of these names were derived from those of chieftains possessing them, e.g. from Narmin(a),⁵ or Sambara (his forts being called 'Sambaras' in neuter plural).⁶

'Purs' were owned as often by the chiefs of the earlier population as by the new-coming Vedic Āryans; Pipru of the 'black brood' possessed many forts,⁷ and we hear of the castles of Cumuri, Dhuni and others, in all probability Dāsa chiefs⁸; while to Sambara the Dāsa hero are ascribed 90, 99 or 100 'purs.'⁹ The real existence of the Dāsas as a distinct people¹⁰ in the Rgvedic times seems to be beyond doubt. The Dāsas have their 'viśah,' and are classed as a 'varṇa'¹¹; they were often dwellers in the mountainous regions¹²; they had great wealth themselves,¹³ and wealthy Āryan chiefs were those who had 'dāsa-pravarga raiḥ' or wealth consisting of troops of 'dāsa' slaves¹⁴; and the women of the Dāsas are found as slave-girls and concubines.¹⁵ It is thus quite unnecessary to take Pipru, Sambara and others as other than real aboriginal but civilized Dāsa chieftains, whom the Vedic immigrants had found it not easy to dislodge from their numerous strongholds in the country. As however they were being ousted step by step, their forts would naturally pass into Āryan hands, and become Āryan baronial strongholds, whence the 'nāthas' and 'pur-patis' might protect the 'veśas.' Sometimes 'purs' may have formed parts of the 'grāmas' themselves¹⁶; in these

1 The rarity of the word does not necessarily prove the temporary character of the command; it is equally accounted for by the fact that naturally the *ṛṣis* would be less familiar with the 'pur-pati' than with the 'grāmanī'.

2 Rv. I, 112, 7 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 304). (Sāyana takes it as a man's name).

3 Belonging to Nāmara, a prince (Ludwig) or a demon (Roth: St. Pet. Dict. s.v.); Rv. II, 13, 8 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 152).

4 Rv. I, 149, 3 (Ludwig: Trans. Rv., 3, 204).

5 Vide n. 4 above, and St. Pet. Dict. s.v.; (Oldenberg: Rv.-noten, I, 148; SBE. 46, 177).

6 V.I., II, 355.

7 Rv. I, 51, 5; VI, 20, 7.

8 Rv. VI, 18, 8 (cf. VI, 20, 13; 26, 6; IV, 30, 21; II, 13, 9; X, 113, 9; II, 15, 9; VII, 19, 4).

9 Rv. I, 130, 7; II, 19, 6; II, 14, 6; II, 24, 2.

10 Re Sambara as a real Dāsa, cf. Rv. I, 130, 7; IV, 30, 14; VI, 26, 5.

11 For references vide V.I., I, 356-358.

12 Rv. II, 12, 11; IV, 30, 14; VI, 26, 5.

13 Rv. I, 176, 4; IV, 30, 13; VIII, 40, 6; X, 69, 5; Av. VII, 90, 2.

14 Rv. I, 92, 8; cf. I, 158, 5 (Geldner: Rv.-glossar: 82).

15 Vide other notes re 'dāsi.'

16 As conjectured by Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 142, 148 (cf. 'grāma-durga's in Purāṇic tradition).

cases a whole clan or band of Āryans instead of mighty chiefs may have overpowered and entered into possession of some minor Dāsa stronghold, and then made it the basis of their 'grāma' settlement. On the whole the view of Zimmer, and others after him,¹ that Vedic India knew of nothing more solid and complex than the hamlet, like the early Germans and Slavs who had no castle-structures and town-life, is an extreme one; for it is now being realized more and more as a basic fact that the Vedic Indians, like the Irānians, Hellenes and Italians, were superimposed upon an earlier civilization,² in all probability of the same type (and maybe of cognate origins) as in the other three cases, and were similarly affected as regards religion, arts and crafts.³ The Germanic parallels therefore should not be carried too far.⁴ Thus it becomes quite reasonable to find in 'pṛthvī,'⁵ 'urvī,'⁶ 'śatabhujī,'⁶ 'āśmamayī,'⁷ or 'āyasi'⁸ 'purs,' or the massive, extensive, hundred-walled, stone-built, or iron-protected forts, vivid descriptions of new and wonderful things the Vedic heroes actually saw; and the rather forced explanations discovering in them mysteries of myths and fancies of metaphor become unnecessary. The main difference, originally, between the Dāsa and the Āryan 'purs' must have lain in the materials used (which depended on the nature of the country they were familiar with), large sections of the former being acquainted with the Vindhyan and Central Indian granites⁹ and metal ores,¹⁰ the latter with timber-work mainly. But adaptations from one another seem to have occurred quite early: Suśna, apparently a Dāsa enemy, used 'pur carigṇu,' or small

¹ Summarized in V.I., I, 538—540.

² [Extensive remains of this earlier Indian civilisation (cir. 3,000 to 2,000 B.C.) have very recently been discovered in the Punjab and Sindh. Many of the suggestions and inferences in this work, based upon literary evidence chiefly, will be found to be remarkably corroborated by these archaeological discoveries. These also make it almost certain that the W. Asiatic or Minoan civilisations had much in common with this earliest Indian civilisation which was their source both racially and culturally. This field of investigation promises to be most fruitful for Purāṇic scholars and epigraphists.]

³ Thus it is demonstrable from traditional accounts that Vedic Brāhmanism itself was originally non-Āryan (cf. Pargiter: AIHT).

⁴ There is really very little of common conditions.

⁵ Rv. I, 189, 2.

⁶ Rv. I, 166, 8; VII, 15, 14.

⁷ Rv. IV, 30, 20.

⁸ Rv. I, 58, 8; II, 10, 18; 20, 8; IV, 27, 1; VII, 3, 7; 15, 4; 95, 1; X, 101, 8 (cf. Muir. Sans. T. 22, 378ff.).

⁹ Cf. n. 12, p. 18; (the hill-tracts referred to would appear to be mainly Vindhyan, if the traditions regarding the distribution of pre-Aila races are taken along with it; so also according to these traditions the Ailas came through North Himālayan regions into the plains just below, an area still famous for timber art and architecture).

¹⁰ Iron and copper smelting by using surface-coal is almost a pre-historic achievement of the Drāvido-Kolārian races of N.E. Deccān.

moveable forts,¹ evidently constructed of timber; it could only have been either erected on trucks with four or more wheels² to be drawn by horses or elephants, or composed of adjusted parts easily dismantled or put together, a sort of 'camp-tower'³; so also the Aryans had their 'pāṣya', or stone-bulwarks,⁴ but the use of this word to denote also the stone slabs for pressing 'soma',⁵ shows that such defences were a later acquisition. 'Dehi', a defensive construction of some sort,⁶ is used specially of non-Āryan defences, though not invariably; it might mean either hasty defences thrown up against an enemy, or more permanent earthworks and dykes, or rubble rampart and trench going together,—which last is the most suitable sense. It is likely that these 'dehīs' are the 'śārādī'⁷ or 'autumnal' forts ascribed apparently to the Dāsas⁸; these may have been more or less temporary earthworks, ramparts or trenches, constructed every autumn to meet fresh campaigns of the Āryans⁹; but in the course of time 'dehīs' found to be of strategical service would come to be permanently used.¹⁰

¹ Rv. VIII, 1, 2—8 (cf. Hillebrandt: Ved. Myth. 1, 300 n.; 3, 289 n.).

² Like the later 'rathas,' e.g. as represented at Koṇārak. Cf. temporary residences, like 'rathas,' built for kings in Rājasūya sacrificial area,—in Mbh.

³ The construction may have been suggested by the 'ratha-vāhanas' in common use in the Vedic age, which were moveable stands for chariots, probably drawn by horses ('ratha-vāhana-vāhas') into the battle-field, where the chariots were then used in action. With this may be compared the many-wheeled stands used in the same way even in the present day for the 'divine' 'rathas'; these 'rathas' on stands indicate what the 'pur carīṣṇu' must have been like. This makes it probable that the references to more than 4 wheels for a chariot are not mythical in every case. Thus something like a many-wheeled 'pur carīṣṇu' seems to have been thought of in Av. X, 2, 28ff, where the 'pur' of 'Brahman' is described as 8-wheeled and 9-doored. For 'ratha-vāhana,' vide:—Rv. VI, 75, 8; Av. III, 17, 3; Taitt. Saṃ. IV, 2, 5, 5=Kāth. Saṃ. XVI, 11=Mait. Saṃ. II, 7, 12=Vād. Dh. Sūt. II, 34, 35. Cf. also, Kāth. Saṃ. XXI, 10; Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 9, 6; Sat. Brā. V, 4, 3, 23ff. For 'ratha-vāhana-vāha,' vide:—Taitt. Saṃ. I, 8, 20, 1; Taitt. Brā. I, 8, 4, 3; Kāth. Saṃ. XV, 9; Mait. Saṃ. II, 2, 1.

⁴ Rv. I, 56, 6.

⁵ Rv. IX, 102, 2 Macdonell: J.R.A.S. 1893, 457—458).

⁶ Rv. VI, 47, 2; VII, 6, 5 (cf. Schrader: Preh. Ant. 344; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 143).

⁷ Rv. I, 131, 4; 174, 2; VI, 20, 10.

⁸ Rv. I, 103, 3; III, 12, 6; IV, 32, 10.

⁹ It may be possible to connect 'dehi' with 'dih,' to smear or plaster, and thus to take it as a mud wall; but it is noteworthy that 'd(ḍ)ihī' 'd(ḍ)ih,' 'dah' or 'dā,' are quite common-place names in Bengal, Bihār and Chotānāgpur (regions where indigenous non-Āryan elements are often clearly traceable), have a similar implication of trench and ramparts, or a defensible area of high rugged ground (cf. the E. vern. expr. 'dah paḍā,' to get a wound like 'ditch and wall'). Probably the ancient place-name 'Vi-deha' ('gha') is to be traced from a 'dehi' fort; cf. 'śālā' in 'Vi-śālā,' 'Vai-śālī' or 'Vi-śālā,' in the same region.

¹⁰ Thus giving rise to place-names with 'dehi' or its cognate words (and possibly even with 'pur').

Autumn indeed has always been the traditional season for military ventures in India, when the rains cease and the country becomes fit for marches, and the tradition probably goes back to pre-Āryan experience; it is difficult to see the point of the usual explanation¹ that these structures were intended to afford shelter from the 'autumnal inundations' and were therefore of the nature of dykes.² On the other hand the 'purs' which might, like fort Pātharu, be saved by rain-storms from being set on fire,³ or in the siege of which fire was used,⁴ or again, which were full of kine ('gomatī'),⁵ were evidently timber-built and characteristically Āryan.⁶ The Vedic 'gomatī purs' are the prototypes (or paratypes) of the Epic 'go-grhas,' or fortified, extensive, cowstalls, the scenes of many knightly ventures,—and possibly the 'go-puras' of later architecture⁷ are to be traced to this origin. The 'gomatī purs' must have originally been protected merely by earthen ramparts, with timber palisade and ditch. In some cases the palisade of an Āryan 'pur' may have been only a hedge of thorn or a row of stakes⁸ fixed vertically and horizontally,⁹ serving to make the approach difficult for enemies: the R̥gvedic 'durga'¹⁰ may have primarily meant some such 'pur,' with thorn-hedge, stakes and ditches as hindrances to approach, but the meaning of a regular fort or stronghold may suit the passages equally well.¹¹ 'Vapra,' so frequent later on, occurs in the Av. in the sense of rampart,¹²

1 E.g. in V.I.

2 For, firstly, no floods usually occur in the autumn; secondly, these floods are not formidable in Madhyadeśa.

3 Rv. I, 112, 7.

4 Rv. VII, 5, 3.

5 Av. VIII, 6, 23.

6 Cf. the Epic (Bharata) 'go-grhas,' and the arrangements for the cattle of the Bharata clan (in Ait. Brā.; vide ante.).

7 The association of the 'divine bull' with later 'go-puras' may not be accidental.

8 Cf. Rv. X, 101, 8 (Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 143-145); also Rv. VIII, 53, 5 (Roth: Z. D. M. G., 48, 109).

9 This earlier fencing is represented in the later 'śāla-protected' cities known to the Upaniṣads, and in the massive Mauryan timber-palisades and stone railings.

10 Rv. V, 34, 7; VII, 25, 2.

11 In Rv. X, 85, 32=Av. XIV, 1, 64, 'durga' (difficult of approach and reached or passed by 'suga' ways) is used in a manner that indicates acquaintance with campaigns amidst hill-forts. Ancient place-names with 'durga' ('durg' or 'drug') are found chiefly in Central India and S. W. Deccān, and these are of strong rock-fortresses; this might throw some light on the type of forts meant by the Vedic 'durga.' Probably the epithets 'durgaha' (unapproachable) and 'girikṣit' (rock-render or rock-dweller) given to Māndhātṛ or other princes of his line) refer to such forts, sp. as acc. to Pūr. tradition, Purukutsa and his brothers etc., are connected with Deccān expeditions, and Māndhātṛ also came into close contact with the S. W. Yādavas etc. (cf. also the Ikṣvāku kingdom in the Narmadā region, and the place-name Māndhātā'=anc. Mahiṣmatī).

12 Av. VII, 71, 1 (Whitney: Trans. Av. 435-436).

but the reading is somewhat doubtful; while the equally familiar 'prākāra' occurs only in the Sūtras,¹ and is used to denote a walled mound supporting either a platform and gallery for spectators, or a palace ('prāsāda').

'Pur' and 'pura' in Vedic literature are probably not identical, as they are usually taken to be. 'Pura' in 'tripura'² and 'mahāpura',³ occurring in the Yv. Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, is evidently something much bigger: the reference is to cities with three 'purs' or three rows of fortifications and to great fortified cities, rather than to an ordinary 'pur' or fort with three concentric walls, and to a big fort only.⁴ This form 'pura,' again, occurs from the time of the Yv. onwards, when capital cities like Kāmpīla, had become familiar to brāhmaṇas; it is probable, however, that we have this form earlier still in the Rv., in the proper names 'Puramdhi' and 'Puraya',⁵ which, like the name 'Nagarin' in the Brāhmaṇas,⁶ may indirectly point to the existence of such 'puras' or cities⁷ in the earlier period. On the ground

1 Śāṅkh. Sr. Sūt. XVI, 18, 14. (These stages may however only indicate the gradually growing familiarity of brāhmaṇas as a whole with a pre-existent court and city life;—which was clearly a late Vedic feature).

2 Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 3; Kāth. Sam. XXIV, 10; etc. Śat. Brā. VI, 3, 3, 25; Ait. Brā. II, 11; Kauś. Brā. (in Ind. Stud. 2, 310).

3 Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 3, 1; Kāth. Sam. XXIV, 10; Mait. Sam. III, 8, 1; Ait. Brā. I, 23, 2; Gop. Brā. II, 2, 7.

4 'Tripura' is actually the name of a N. W. Deccān city in Pur. tradition; so is 'Śatpura' in the same region: both connected with much fighting and romantic tales regarding the Yādavas and their hostile neighbours, (cf. 'Daśa-pura,' also in the same region.).

5 Rv. I, 116, 13; VI, 63, 9; ('puramdhi' occurs in other senses in Av. XIV, 59; Rv. I, 134, 3; Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 18; etc.; vide infra.).

6 Ait. Brā. V, 30; Jaim. Upan. Brā. III, 40, 2.

7 'Puramdhi' is explained by Sāyaṇa, as 'of great dhī'(!), and he takes 'vadhṛimati' as a proper name (which is unlikely); as a princess is referred to, 'pura' in 'puramdhi' may appropriately be taken to mean 'city'; so also with 'pura' in 'puraya,' the name of a king (who gives away horses, slaves, cars, and 'pakva,' or brick-built houses). Proper names with 'pura' are not uncommon in the Pur. dynastic lists. For the form 'puramdhi,' cf. the later 'puramdhrī.' 'Puramdhi' seems to have meant "residing within a 'pura' or fortified capital," i.e. a noblewoman or princess, such as 'Vadhṛimati' was; for this sort of designation cf. 'Subhadrā Kāmpilavāsini' of Yv. and 'Subhadrā Dvārakāvāsini' of the Epic. Keith translates 'puramdhi' in Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 18, by 'prolific woman'; but as the prayer there is for 'this kingdom,' where the birth of a prince, an archer, a hero, a 'rathī' and a 'sabheya' youth, is also desired,—'puramdhi' in this group must correspond to 'sabheya' and mean what was later called 'nāgarikā'; cf. Rv. I, 134, 3, where a 'puramdhi' maiden is awakened at night by her lover's visit. In the Av. (XIV, 1. 50) where a 'Puramdhi' is invoked in the marriage rites, the sense of 'prolific woman' might suit, but it is more probable that it means there the guardian female deity of the 'pura,' and as such (like Jarā-devī of the Magadhan capital in the Epic) a fertility goddess.

of the late occurrence of 'nagara' it has been held that city-life was not developed in Vedic period, and that possibly there were no towns.¹ But 'nagara,' city, occurs definitely in an *Āraṇyaka*,² which means a good deal, as it implies that the fame of the 'nagara' was wide and longstanding enough to have awakened interest even among the brāhmanas in the 'aranyas'³; then again, it is quite clear from the occurrence of 'Nagarin',⁴ resident of a 'nagara' or capital city, as a proper name, and of 'Kauśāmbeya' (native of Kauśāmbī city) as an epithet,⁵ that cities were in existence in the earlier Brāhmaṇa period. But at this point we lose sight of the 'nagara.' At the same time, from the Brāhmaṇas backwards up to the Yv. Samhitās, we find a substitute, the 'pura',⁶ while we also get well-known names of cities for the period.⁷ Going further back, the city is no longer to be distinguished as such, but still there is the 'pur,' 'durga,' and other cognate settlements involving many different structural types and grades. The inevitable conclusion is that the 'pur' is the prototype,⁸ the 'pura' is the developed city, and the 'nagara' is the full-fledged capital city. It is to be noted that the sense of any ordinary town for 'nagara' is quite a modern one; even in classical literature 'nagara' always stands for the imperial capital, at any rate one claiming such status or traditions. This makes it quite probable that the first occurrence of 'nagara' in the Brāhmaṇa and *Āraṇyaka* age does not mean the first coming into existence of towns, but simply marks a stage in the history of Indian cities⁹ and of the struggle for overlordship among the principalities and peoples of Northern India following Vedic settlement, the principal 'pura' of the paramount tribe or state being designated 'nagara,' like 'naga' or rocks,¹⁰ by way of pre-eminence in strength, or probably by way of reference to its stone walls or towers. The references in the Upaniṣads to 11- or 9-gated

1 Vide V.I., I, 538-540.

2 Taitt. Āraṇ. I, 11, 18; 31, 4.

3 Cf. the brāhmaṇical notice of Ayodhyā as a 'grāma.'

4 Vide ante.

5 Sat. Brā. XII, 2, 2, 13; Gop. Brā. I, 2, 24.

6 Vide ante.

7 E.g. Kāmpila, Āsandivant; Varāṇavatī (Av. IV, 7, 1), or Kauśāmbī above.

8 Also a wider class; 'pura' existed in the time of Brā.s and Upan.s also; e.g. Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 7, 5; Ait. Brā. I, 23; II, 11; Sat. Brā. III, 4, 4, 3; VI, 3, 3, 25; XI, 1, 1, 2-3; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 5, 3; etc.

9 Compare the account given in Mārķ. Pur. (xliv, 41ff.) of the development of civilization. Here the 'pura' (big fortified town) is regarded as succeeding 'fortresses' in time, and preceding the royal capital 'nagara.'

10 Capital cities and royal castles (e.g. descr. of Indraprastha) are always compared to rocks and peaks in the Epic.

citadels¹ thus reveals a new appropriateness, in the comparison of the proud and striving 'bodies' of the individual and of the corporate tribe; it becomes unnecessary to see in such 'purās' mere forts, and then to hold that 9 or 11 gateways are fanciful, their number depending on the nature of the body which is compared²; no doubt only one gate in a city is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa,³ but a comparison with 9- or 11-gated cities could hardly have occurred to people who had never seen more than one gate to a city; they may not have seen precisely 9 or 11 gates, but any other number, say 8 or 12, which is more probable,⁴ as the earliest references to town plans, e.g., in the Mānasāra, Megasthenes, or actual remains,—while they are all subsequent to the period in question,—all point to the number of gateways being 4, 8, or multiples of 4 even up to 64.⁵

The capital city, 'pura' or 'nagara' must have belonged to some king or ruling family; and we should expect to find ample references to the special edifices connected with them; but such allusions are rather general and meagre, until we come to the close of the Vedic period. It is not that court and city life did not exist in the Vedic age, while it did in the Epic; it is rather a superficial appearance due to the fact that the Rv. and other priestly literature had much less to do with court life⁶ than the epics and the Kṣatriya traditions had; thus when we come to special sections of the Yv. Samhitās,⁷ which have some bearing on things regal, some more details do come forth. The Rv. knows of such a thing as a King's palace, and Varuṇa has one.⁸ The 'harmya,' primarily denoting⁹ the Vedic house as a unity, including stables, etc.,¹⁰ very soon

1 Kāth. Upan. V, 1 (11); Svetāś. Upan. III, 18 (9); (cf. Schrader: Preh. Ant. 412; Muir: Sans. T. 5, 451; Weber: Ind. Stud. I, 229; Ludwig: Trans. Rv. 3, 203).

2 Keith: Ait. Aran. 185.

3 Śat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 2, 3.

4 The point of the comparison lies in the odd numbers 9 and 11,—for the real 'purās' had gates of even number,—i.e. 4 or multiples of 4.

5 Which was the number for Pāṭaliputra; 4 gates were a corollary to the very ancient Indian plan, of cross-roads running in cardinal directions: and this would be the minimum, which could be embellished in multiples.

6 The only occasions of contact being bestowal of gifts, and even that contact was not with the greater kings known to tradition, but mostly with petty local chieftains. It is to be noted that as soon as Vedic priests come into intimate contact with flourishing Kuru-Pāṇcāla courts,—subsequently,—they mention Kāmpīla and Asandivant and various other court details (vide infra).

7 E.g. in connection with the Rājasūya; vide infra.

8 Rv. II, 41, 5; VII, 88, 5.

9 Probably 'harmya' denotes a big man's establishment from the beginning. Cf. its association with the stabling, fences or walls, and 'visah' who are its inmates (Rv. I, 121, 1).

10 Rv. I, 166, 4; IX, 71, 4; 78, 3; X, 43, 3; 73, 10; etc.; stabling etc.,—Rv. VII, 56, 16; cf. X, 106, 5.

added on the qualification of being protected by a palisade or wall¹; and in the Rv. itself we find a 'harmyeṣṭhaḥ' prince standing probably on the roof, or rather the balcony, of his palace,² just as any later Indian king would do to please his people. When the Av. thinks of a residence for Yama, it is a 'harmya.'³ The specialized structure of 'prāsāda' is however, explicitly referred to rather late in the post-Vedic literature.⁴ But it is clearly indicated in the earlier occurrence of 'ekaveśinan,'⁵ the towering prominent abode of the king as contrasted with the numerous houses of the people.

A quadrangular style of palace-structure (comparable with the old town-plan of 4 roads and gateways or multiples of them) is known as a main primary type in the Purāṇas (which appear to have got their technical information in common with the 'Silpa-śāstras' from some earlier special treatise, and whose compilers, the Sūtas, were also specialist builders to kings),⁶—and this is termed 'vairāja.'⁷ It is perhaps pertinent to see in 'vairāja' a reference to the sort of 'harmyas' or residences the early Vedic chiefs raised for themselves on attainment of 'vairājya' or paramountcy of some sort; 'virāj' is a royal title in the Rv. and Av.,⁸ and is well recognized in Purāṇic tradition; but in Ait. Brā. it is said at that time to have been used in Uttara-Kuru and Uttara-Madra only⁹; hence, either the 'vairāja' type of palace-construction (known to the Purāṇas) was introduced into Indian Midlands (in the 8th century B.C.) from these Himālayān regions (whence the model form of Sanskrit speech also was derived in that age), or the style

1 Rv. VII, 55, 6.

2 Rv. VII, 56, 16 (Geldner : Ved. Stud. 2, 278, n. 2; Alt. Leb. 149).

3 Av. XVIII, 4, 55.

4 Adbhūta Brā., in Ind. Stud. 1, 40; cf. 'prākāra,' and 'prāsāda' rising on it: Śāṅkh. Sr. Sūt. XVI, 18, 14.

5 Śat. Brā., I, 3, 2, 14.

6 Thus the chief architect to Janamejaya III (the Great) was a Paurāṇika Sūta (Mbh.). It probably indicates that palace architecture and fortifications were pre-eminently a Magadhan development.

7 Gar. Pur. XLVII, 19ff. (re palaces).

8 For refs. vide V.I., II, 304.

Ait. Brā. VIII, 14, 3; this particular seems to be historically significant, as in the time of the Ait. Brā. (vide Pargiter : AIHT, 326, etc.) the (Southern) Kurus and Madras had ceased to exist as kingdoms, the former uniting with the Pāñcālas and ever retreating eastwards, the latter being lost altogether; the Kuru-Pāñcāla Kings used the simple title of 'rāja,' as compared with the Eastern rulers, showing that they had decayed considerably.

was a more ancient one, continued even after the passing away of 'virāt'-ships of the early Vedic and Epic period.

Some details regarding the Vedic Kings' palace occur incidentally in connection with the court ceremonial of Rājasūya.¹ During this the 'ratna-havis' rite was performed at the houses of the King's 'Ratnins,'—something like a cabinet of King's Friends, including the chief Queen and the Household Officers.² These Ratnins' houses must have been round about or adjacent to the King's palace,³ being in the same royal and sacrificial area; and the separate houses of the sacrificing King's 'maḥiṣī,' 'vāvātā,' and 'parivrktī,' indicate the existence of a complex palace of the harem type. It is noteworthy that both these particulars are borne out by the details of the Mahābhāratan court, traditionally assigned to about the same period as the compilation of the Yv. Samhitās.⁴ Of the different offices a 'Kṣattr' at the royal court might fill,⁵ the Śatapatha names that of 'antaḥpurādhyakṣa' or 'harem-superintendent' (which might be polished into 'chamberlain'), thus implying a full-fledged palace establishment. This is also indicated by the other alternative functions of the Kṣattr, who might be the 'gate-keeper' (of the palace), with assistants called 'anukṣattr,'⁶ or the 'distributor of the King's gifts, etc.' Here also the epic accounts agree as to the functions of the Kṣattr, and the elaborate court-life implied.⁷ Thus it may reasonably be concluded that what is hinted at in the meagre references of the priestly texts is only given in full in the Epic, quite naturally. It is also noteworthy that chiefly those details *re* royal establishments are given in the former, with which a sacrificial priesthood would be most

1 Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 9, 1ff; Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 31ff; Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 1ff.—Mait. Sam. II, 6, 5; IV, 3, 8; Kāth. Sam. XV, 4.

2 This group of King's Ratnas is practically the same in Kṣatriya tradition also. Cf. Vāyu. 57, 70.

3 The plan is fully traditional; so also in Mughal imperial seats, where many early Hindu plans and symbolisms were adapted (vide Havell), the houses of the chief advisers and nobles were blocks in the same palace area, along with the separate establishments of the chief queens and princesses.

4 Vide Pargiter: AIHT, pp. 318, '20, '21, '23, '24, etc.

5 Vide details of refs. in V.I. I, 201; the function of 'disburser,' in Rv., Av., etc.; that of 'gate-keeper,' in Yv. and early Brā.s.

6 Vāja Sam. XXX, 11; 13.

7 Cf. the case of Vidura, who filled the first and the last offices at the Kuru and Pāṇḍava courts from time to time.

acquainted; thus, again, Janamejaya-Pāriksita's capital is called by the general epithet of 'Āsandivant' (possessing the throne),¹ instead of the famous Hāstinapura, showing that these brāhmins were usually shown into a 'throne'-room or audience-hall of the King, and that was all that they saw of the court; the other things striking them being, the awful 'gate-keeper' with his staff, the royal disburser of gifts which they appreciated, and the 'harem-superintendent' who conveyed to them reverence and presents from the court ladies.²

One of the King's 'council' of 'Ratnins' was a 'Grāmaṇi' which post was the highest ambition of the prosperous 'Vaiśyas'³; he may have been elected or nominated from the many 'grāmaṇis' of the state.⁴ This makes it quite possible that through these selected and aspiring 'grāmaṇis' imitations of the royal court, and its style and structures spread into their respective 'grāmas' and 'mahā-grāmas'⁵ (the bigger villages or townships).⁶ Thus a 'grāma' also had its 'sabha',⁷ where the 'grāmya-vādin' held court; some 'grāmas' may also have had 'purs',⁸ where the 'pur-pati,' a 'nātha' or 'ibhya,' would play the king.

Apart from these, the 'grāmas' must have had other constructive activities (individual or joint), of maintaining

1 Ait. Brā. VIII, 21; Śat. Brā. XIII, 5, 4, 2; cf. Sāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. XVI, 9, 1.

2 These points are copiously illustrated in all traditional stories regarding the connections between brāhmins or ṛṣis and the courts.

3 Taitt. Sam. II, 5, 4, 4; Mait. Sam. I, 6, 5; cf. Weber: Ind. Stud. 10, 20, n. 2; also Śat. Brā. V. 3, 1, 5. For references to the post of 'grāmaṇi' in Rv., Yv., Av. and Brās, vide V.I., I, 247, n. 25-28 and 31.

4 It is however possible that the 'grāmaṇi' here is the 'mayor of the capital city'; if Ayodhyā could be called a 'grāma,' a city official also could be called a 'grāmaṇi' by retired ṛṣis knowing no better.

5 Jaim. Upan. Brā. III, 13, 4.

6 The idea of introducing styles of the capital city into other towns and villages is quite ancient, being referred to in the Vāts. Kā. Sūtra as one of the primary functions of the metropolitan 'goṣṭhis' (a much earlier institution).

7 Also 'samiti' and 'āmantraṇa:' vide ante.

8 The ancient Kṣatriya ballads (e.g. re Prthu) in the Pur. mention 'grāma-durgas' as unnecessary or disappearing under a strong ideal king; these would thus seem to have been something like 'adulterine castles.'

the interconnecting¹ roads,² or setting up grain-stores.³ References to structural forms in the Vedic village are in fact fairly numerous,⁴ though nowhere described systematically. Thus 'khala'⁵ (floor of the granary), 'upānasa'⁶ and 'ūrdara'⁷ (granary) indicate grain-storing arrangements in the village for the earlier period also. The village well ('avata',⁸ 'kūpa'⁹) had already its mechanism of water-wheels,¹⁰ etc.; and dams¹¹ ('vartra')¹² were constructed to form tanks.¹³ These structures could not have been of a rude primitive type, as the Āryans must have found these agricultural and irrigation arrangements already fully developed in the Dravidian village communities.¹⁴

The house construction outlined in the Atharvaveda¹⁵ evidently refers to the ordinary type of dwelling-house in a village settlement, such as a brāhmaṇ would either himself possess,¹⁶ or consecrate with mantras for the villagers under his ministration. Such a house was apparently characterized by these features:—(1) 'Upamit's 'pratimit's and 'parimit's: which seem to mean timber pillars and beams, in various

- 1 Chānd. Upan. VIII, 6, 2.
- 2 In the Jātakas irrigation works are the joint concern of more than one settlement (e.g. of Sākya and Koliyas).
- 3 Bhṛhad. Upan. VI, 3, 13. These grain-stores must have been (as they are even now sometimes) quite large and complex structures, of timber and bamboo, plastered walls and raised platform or stone bases, cylindrical, and with round dome-shaped top; a late medieval brick and stone model of such a capacious 'golā' ('round') is the famous imposing 'gol-ghar' of Pāṭnā; there may have been other masonry 'golās' in earlier times also; it is very likely that one of the sources of the 'stūpa' style is this village grain-store (with 'precious deposits') guarded with fencing, which was translated into stone. This might account for the 'Yakṣa' and 'Śrī' sculptures in the early Stūpa architecture. (Śrī as a goddess is known to Sat. Brā.).
- 4 Vide ante for explanation.
- 5 Rv. X, 48, 7 (Nir. III, 10); cf. Av. XI, 3, 9; VIII, 6, 15; Mait. Sam. II, 9, 6.
- 6 Av. II, 14, 2; cf. Rv. X, 105, 4; the sense is a probable one; (cf. 'mahānasa').
- 7 Rv. II, 14, 11 (Sāyana).
- 8 Vide V.I., I, 39-40.
- 9 In Rv. and onwards; vide V.I., I, 177.
- 10 Cf. 'kūcakra' (so taken by Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 157): Rv. X, 102, 11. 'Sūda' (in Rv. VII, 36, 3; IX, 97, 4; and in 'sūda-dohas', VIII, 69, 3) may be=well. 'Parsū' in Rv. I, 105, 8; X, 33, 2) may mean the masonry sides of a 'kūpa,' with metal fittings, or ribbed, so as to resemble sickles. Similar ancient burnt clay pipes for shielding the sides of wells may be seen in the Pāṭnā Museum.
- 11 Cf. 'sūrmī' (in Rv.)=water-pipes, and dug out water channels for irrigation.
- 12 Or 'varta' Av. I, 3, 7; Taitt. Brā. I, 6, 9, 1.
- 13 'Vār,' from Rv. onwards; 'veśantā' (and variants) from Av. onwards; vide V.I., II, 287 and 326, respectively.
- 14 For the Dravidian basis of Āryan villages, vide Baden-Powell.
- 15 Av. IX, 3; III, 12.
- 16 It seems that purchase of such a house "with an 'udara' of treasures" is referred to in Av. IX, 3, 15.

positions, vertical, horizontal and slanting.¹ (2) 'Vamśa's: entire bamboos, probably used mainly for the framework of the roofing, the central horizontal bamboo, supported on the 'sthūṇā' or main pillar, being pre-eminently the 'vamśa.' (3) 'Akṣu': either, the wicker-work or split-bamboo lining, over which the thatch was laid,³ and to which the description of 'thousand-eyed' could aptly be applied; or, a net, spread over the 'viśūvant,' to keep the straw-bundles of the thatch intact during stormy weather.⁴ (4) 'Palada'⁵ and 'trpa': bundles of hay, straw, or long reedy grass, for the 'chadis' (thatch), and probably for filling in or lining the walls. (5) 'Viśūvant': the ridge on the top of the roofing, looking like parted hair.⁶ (6) Various 'ties' joining the parts together, which evidently refer to bamboo and cane or rope work⁷; and 'śikya'⁸: suspensory arrangements (like slings of strong net,

1 This is more probable than bamboo posts and props, as 'vamśa' is separately mentioned; so also in Rv. I, 59, 1 and IV, 5, 1, 'upamit' = pillar, probably of timber. Cf. the similar feature in the Bengal 'atcālā.'

2 This term became early a technical one, denoting the main beam or ridge of any structure: e.g. the architectural sections of some Purāṇas know of the 'vamśa' of a fort or palace, where it cannot mean bamboo. Cf. the sense of 'beam' in Śāṅkh. Arāṇ. VIII, 1 and in 'śālā-vamśa,' Ait. Arāṇ. III, 2, 1.

3 This is better than 'thatched covering' or 'pole with countless holes'; it corresponds to the 'cāṭāi' and 'jāli' of modern structures; cf. the current description 'cokh-cokh' ('with many eyes') of such wicker-work linings.

4 'Thousand-eyed' would apply equally to such covering net, which may have been of ropes or split-cane; this sense is perhaps better, as 'akṣu' is said to be stretched as 'opasa' on the 'viśūvant,' so that the net would correspond to the finer net used to hold together the coiffure and stray curls.

5 With 'palada' and the cognate forms 'palāli' (= 'yava' -straw: Av. II, 8, 3), 'palāva' (Av. XII, 3, 19; Jaim. Upan. Brā. I. 54, 1), and 'palāla' (= straw: Kauṣ. Sūt. LXXX, 27), may be compared the Eastern vernacular 'powāl,' also a term specially used in house-building. A long grass, 'śirki' is still used in N. Bihār for such protective linings.

6 As it actually does even now, the cut ends of the bundles of hay along the top being turned inside down and bound, so that the loose ends fall on either side. For the simile, cf. the 'akṣu' spread over the roof is like an 'opasa' (woman's coiffure); the house itself is likened to a 'vadhū' (and carried like her, on waggons probably, when dismantled); it (i.e. its spirit) is addressed as 'mānasya patni,' and is 'clothed' in grass, etc.; and the wife enters the new house first. (So also in subsequent thought the wife is 'grhiṇī' as well as 'grha.' Cf. 'the nest upon nest and vessel upon vessel' of the Av. verse in connection with this house).

7 E.g. 'saṃdamśa,' 'prāṇāha,' etc.

8 The modern 'śike' (Beng.), suspended from the roof to hold vessels and gourds, etc.; they are sometimes made of woven cane and ornamental designs. This may well have been the origin of the 'ornamental hangings' of later classical styles, as illustrated in Ajantā cave temples,* just as the whole of this type of dwelling-house is the source of many later stone-architectural features.

* Griffith's Ajantā Plates, No. 6, 10, 13; and Konow's Karpūramasī-jarī, n. p. 289, referred to in Whitney and Lamman: Av. p. 526, where 'śikya' is taken as = such 'ornamental hangings.'

etc.). (7) 'Iṭa' which must be fine clay or unbaked bricks, rather than 'reedwork',¹ used to finish off the walls, or floor or basement. (8) Several side-rooms with a central hall² (as indicated by 'pakṣas,' 'wings,'³ 'agnisāla,' the hall of

- 1 With this 'iṭa,' cf. the Eastern vern. forms 'it' (W. Beng.), 'itā' (E. Beng. and Bihār, etc.), 'itāwā' (S. Bihār and Ch. Nāgpur). That 'it' originally meant 'clay,' is shown by the expressions 'kāñcā it' and 'pakkā it' (= 'pakva'), and the term 'eṭel' or 'āṭṭlā' used of fine river clay, suitable for bricks. Unburnt bricks and such clay are still used to finish and line the reed-walls or wattle. 'Iṭa' occurs in only another passage of Av. VI, 14, 3.* In both the Av. passages, 'iṭa'=clay (or unbaked brick in IX, 3) suits better than the usual rendering of bulrush or reeds; in VI, 14, 3, it would mean the river-clay or silt washed away every year, and in the other passage it would mean the clay-plastering or 'kāñcā-it'-facing, which had to be dismantled while the doors were taken off (cf. the application of the verse in Kauś. Sūt., 66, 24). It is evident that this 'iṭa' 'it,' etc.) has been sanskritised into 'istaka' by analogy; the original word seems to have been pre-Āryan. with an r or l associated with the t, the relic of which may be seen in 'eṭel' and 'āṭṭlā' (and place-names like 'Iṭli' (Beng.) or 'Iṭārsi' (C. P.)). So also, in Tāmīl (in the mod. form of which 't' is pronounced 'd'), 'it(d)a,† means to 'dig or dig out'; and 'ita-ppu' and 'ita-van' (with which cf. 'itāwā' above, the place-names 'Iṭāwā' (south U. P.) and 'Iṭāwā' (Travancore), and Tāmīl 'iṭam'=site, house) mean 'clod of earth.' The Tāmīl for brick is 'iṭṭikā'; probably this is the original of 'iṣṭakā'; cf. the curious question in Śat. Brā. X, 5, 1, 5, as to the (fem.) form 'iṣṭakā,' and its fanciful answer: the real explanation is the original Dravidian form 'iṭṭikā' (or the like,—the ending representing the Tām. suffix 'vakā'). The use of clay and bricks therefore would seem to have been a Dravidian feature (of the Gangetic country) early introduced amongst the Vedic Āryans. This is confirmed by the curious Atharvavedic invocation of the dwelling-house as 'Iṭā' in the marriage ritual (Av. XIV, 2, 19); this 'Iṭā' of course corresponds to the Dravidian forms meaning dwelling-house, traces of which may be found in the very ancient place-names of Mithilā (=Mithi+ilā), Kāmpilla (=Kāmpi+illu; cf. Māvella), or (the city) Kṛmilā (=Kṛmi+ilā); cf. 'Vi-deha (°gha)' and 'Vai-sālī' (vide ante); cf. also Tāmīl 'illu'=house, 'iṭa'=royal seat, 'iṭa-vakā'=principality, parish or abode, 'iṭa til'=in the 'seat' or homestead, etc.

* The R̥gvedic proper name 'Iṭa' may well be derived from 'it,' to wander, and would properly apply to a 'yāyāvāra' ṛṣi: Rv. X, 171, 1; cf. 'Iṭant Kāvya': Kauś. Brā. VII, 4; Pañc. Brā. XIV, 9, 16.

† Is this connected with 'iṭā=sacrifice, which involved digging out? cf. 'utkara'=the waste earth thrown up by such sacrificial digging, and the detailed digging 'mantras' in the Yv. sacrificial ritual.

2 The features noticed here are characteristic of the famous 'Bāṅglā' (bungalow) style.

3 Cf. the 'pakṣa's of a 'sālā' in: Kāth. Sam. XXX, 5; Taitt. Brā. I, 2, 3, 1; such a side-room was probably the 'āgara'; Av. IV, 36, 3.

the fire-altar,¹ 'havirdhāna,' the (sacrificial) store-room, and 'patnīnām sadana,' women's apartments ('site and seat'), and with a covered 'verandāh' running all around the house,² at the four corners of which were four thick-set pillars, probably of clay and rubble, or bricks³; altogether a 'brhacchandas'⁴ house, on a large scale and of ample proportions, covered by a 'many-winged'⁵ roofing. The prominence of bamboo, wicker-work, straw, and various 'ties' in the construction, and other peculiarities noted above,⁶ clearly point to the lower Gangetic origin of this style.⁷ It is very remarkable that the Atharvaveda which describes it, is pre-eminently a book of the Āngirasas, who are definitely located in and associated with the very same lower Gangetic provinces in Purāṇic tradition.⁸ Thus the Av. style of housing is Eastern⁹

1 This must have been the central room (cf. Agni as embryo within the many-winged house), to escape dangers of fire,—and also the front room which would be first entered (as is shown by many incidental references, e.g., in the Epics); it was also the Vedic sitting-room, from the connection of the fire-altar with the sabhā. The 'havirdhāna' would be either the adjoining back-room, or one of the smaller side-rooms, where the 'soma vehicle' could be dragged up and housed.

2 At least along the front and back, if a 2-'winged' house.

3 The 'verandāh' and 4 thick pillars are inferable from the description in Av. IX, 3, 17:—'covered with 'trṇa' and clothed in 'palada,' the 'niveśanī' is like a she-elephant with feet"; here the reference is evidently to the elephant with its fringed trappings and stout thick set legs, always clay-covered and clay-hued; the pillars could not have been of timber, for heavy timber work is incompatible with the 'bamboo' style; thus it is better to take them as rubble or raw-brick pillars; they cannot have been the 'upamits,' for these along with the slanting beams and the resultant angles would be filled in by walls (wattle or clay), so that they would be undistinguishable as four thick legs; thus these 'legs' were independent corner-pillars, which, being under the same thatch (=the elephant's body, whose very curve of the back is like the ridge of such a house), necessarily implies the 'verandāh' border, a characteristic feature of the Gangetic style.

4 'Chandas' here may be compared with 'chāṇḍ' (Beng.), a parallel structural term, implying the ideas of proportion, scale, or measurement, which is also the sense of 'chandas' as applied to prosody; besides, as grains and cattle, as well as men are included within this 'brhacchandas' house, 'proportions' would suit better than 'roof,' cf. also the 'atichandas' and other 'chandas' bricks of Yv. altar construction.

5 2, 4, 6, 8, or 10 'wings' (implying as many 'rooms'); cf. the division of structures in Bengal according to 'roofing': 'do-cālā' (a poor man's house); 'cau-cālā' (a thriving villager's house), and 'āt-cālā' (a big open hall, used as the village 'sabhā').

6 Vide foot-notes above.

7 It is not necessary to go to the Nilgiri Tōḍās for the Vedic type of dwelling-house or for the originals of cave architecture (cf. V.I., I, 231).

8 The significance of this point has been illustrated in several other sections of this dissertation.

9 This may be the significance of the 'first homage to the greatness of the house' being paid from the 'prācya' quarter (Av. IX, 3, 25).

(i.e. Deltaic) and Āṅgīrasa (brāhmanic); but it may have been very early introduced into other parts of N. India,¹ with the westward progress of the Āṅgīrasas and other Eastern groups.² Accordingly, references to some of its features are not rare in other parts of the Vedic literature as well.³

But this type of dwelling-houses cannot have been the only one in the Vedic ages, and other varieties must have developed according to regional conditions, etc. This is indicated by references to the use of materials other than the characteristically deltaic, for various structural purposes, e.g., of timber, burnt bricks, stone or metal; and by mentions of other 'parts' of houses, not named or prominent in the sketch of the above type. Thus doors and pillars do not form a special feature in this, but they are very frequently referred to in Vedic literature, and lead to various figurative uses. 'Dur,'⁴ the earlier and commoner word for door,⁵ has an

¹ According to Chinese accounts (Ssu-mā-chien's Hist. of Chāng-kien's career and embassies), bamboos were imported from the Gangetic Delta as far up as the outlying North Western region of Tā-hia (Bactria), as early as the 2nd century B.C., when it was regarded as a very ancient trade. The source of this overland and maritime trade in bamboos, etc. was S. China and adjacent Indo-China. (This agrees with the affinity between East Indian and Indo-Chinese types of house-structure, and the fact that Further-Indian bamboos (being more solid) are still used in house-structures in some parts of Bengal).

² Vide Pargiter: AIHT., p. 219ff.

³ E.g.—'Vamśa': bamboo rafters or beam (Rv. I, 10, 1; Mait. Sam. IV, 8, 10, etc.). 'Akṣu': (Rv. I, 180, 5 (prob.)). 'Sikya': (apart from Av. XIII, 4, 8, in) Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 4, 2, 3; 6, 9, 1; etc.; Sat. Brā. V, 5, 4, 28; VI, 7, 1, 16. Also 'chadis' (covering) and 'upamit',—rather more general terms, not restrictable to the above type. ('Chadis': Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 9, 4; 10, 5, 7; Vāj. Sam. V, 28; Ait. Brā. I, 29. Sat. Brā. III, 5, 3, 9, etc. Cf. 'chadis' of bridal wagon: Rv. 85, 10. 'Upamit': Rv. I, 59, 1; IV, 5, 1). But 'iṭa' and 'palada', etc., do not occur elsewhere. 'Atā' may be a primitive Aryan word, but the fact that it is used of "the doors of the sky," shows that the Vedic poet had in mind not a rectangular timber framework for the wooden door, but rather a vaulted or arched framework of bamboo (cf. the style represented at the entrances to caves and cave temples), such as would properly belong to the above style ('ātā': Rv. I, 56, 5; 113, 14; III, 43, 6; IX, 5, 5; Vāja. Sam. XXIX, 5). The door-fittings indicated by 'syūman' ('door-strap': Rv. III, 6, 1, 4), and 'dvāra-pidhāna' ('door-binder': Sat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 1), are referable to the same style, while 'argala' and 'iṣikā' ('bar and pin' of cow-pen: Sāṅkh. Araṇ. II, 6) would rather belong to timber structures; (cf. 'vraja' constructed of 'asvattha' wood). The frequent use of 'gṛha' in the plural to designate the house (vide the many refs. in V.I. I, 229) shows that a number of rooms was a common feature; this may have been due to the early adoption of the above style of house-building with a number of 'pakṣa's (two to ten).

⁴ Rv. I, 68, 10; 113, 4; 121, 4; 188, 5; etc.

⁵ 'Dvār' in Rv. I, 13, 6; Av. VIII, 3, 22; XIV, 1, 63; Vāja. Sam. XXX, 10; Sat. Brā. XI, 1, 1, 2; etc.; 'dvāra' in Av. X, 8, 43 (nava-dvāra); and Ait. Brā. onwards.

implied sense of the whole house,¹ and 'durya' (doorposts),² 'duryoṇa'³ and 'duroṇa',⁴ all signify the house itself; such use is an indication that much was thought of the timber doorway, on which was probably lavished all the skill of the Vedic carpenter and carver.⁵ 'Skambha,' pillar (of timber),⁶ is often used figuratively; the somewhat later 'stambha'⁷ was probably sometimes a brick or stone one; 'sthāṇu'⁸ (the prominence of which is indicated in the use of 'sabhāsthāṇu') and 'sthūṇā'⁹ are other quite common and early names for pillars (of houses or other structures), made of timber as well as other materials¹⁰; and the 'sthūṇā-rāja'¹¹ must belong to a biggish complicated structure. Smaller timber posts were 'svaru's¹² and 'yūpa's,¹³ used as

1 Thus 'dur-ya' (in masc. pl.) = 'belonging to the door, or to the house': Rv. I, 91, 19; X, 40, 12; Taitt. Sam. 1, 6, 3, 1; Vāj. Sam. I, 11.

2 (In fem. pl.) 'durya' = dwelling or doorposts: Rv. IV, 1, 9, 18; 2, 12; VII, 1, 11.

3 Rv. I, 174, 7; V. 29, 10; 32, 8.

4 Rv. III, 1, 18; 25, 5; IV, 13, 1; V, 76, 4; etc. Av. VII, 17, 3; Vāj. Sam. XXXIII, 72, etc.

5 For such skilled artisans, cf. 'takṣan's: Rv. X, 86, 5; Av. XIX, 49, 8; cf. Rv. I, 161, 9; III, 60, 2; 'tvaṣṭr': Av. XII, 3, 33; also 'taṣṭr' in Rv. (vide V.I., I, 302). These artisans could make decorated and inlaid (piś) bowls like the starry night (Av. XIX, 49, 8), or the lotus (the 'puṣkara' bowl of ritual), and could produce 'rūpam sukṛtam' (sculptured designs and friezes?) with their chisels, and bowls had such carvings in relief of gods, etc. (Av. XII, 3, 33). Cf. 'priyā taṣṭāni vi-aktā' of Rv. X, 86, 5.

The 'takṣans' are respectable in the Rv. but have become low castes in the Buddhistic age (see V.I., II, 266); the best explanation would be that these "wood-carvers" naturally enough amalgamated with the Magadhan indigenous "stone-workers" (vide infra.), and though as a result the crafts were much improved e.g. by renderings of wood-work in stone (as in the Buddhistic period), the craftsmen themselves suffered in status.

6 Rv. I, 34, 2; IV, 3, 5; that it was originally a timber pillar is shown by the vern. 'khāmbā' = specially an entire 'śāla' trunk; cf. the expr. 'lāṭhā-khāmbā' (an arrangement for drawing well-water), where 'khāmbā' has that sense; (it is to be noted that the later monoliths are also called 'lāṭh's; e.g. 'Jarāsandha ki lāṭh'.).

7 Kāth. Sam. XXX, 9; XXXI, 1; and often in Sūtras. For the implication of brick or stone material, cf. the vern. use of 'thām', 'thāmbā' as comp red with 'khāmbā'.

8 Rv. X, 40, 13; Av. X, 4, 1; XIV, 2, 48; XIX, 49, 10; etc.

9 Rv. I, 59, 1; V, 45, 2; 62, 7; VIII, 17, 14. Av. XIV, 1, 63; Sat. Brā. XIV, 1, 3, 7; etc.

10 Eg. 'ayaṣṭhūṇa' or the sthūṇā on the grave (Rv. X, 18, 13), which may have been of clay or brick. So also the 'sthūṇā-rāja' may occasionally have been of bricks, etc.

11 Sat. Brā. III, 1, 1, 11; 5, 1, 1.

12 Rv. I, 92, 5; 162, 9, III, 8, 6, etc; Av. IV, 24, 4; XII, 1, 13; etc.

13 Rv. I, 51, 14.

door-frames, etc., and 'methi's¹ posts for palisades. Apart from these varieties, used chiefly in houses, other pillars of different uses are indicated by 'śaṅku'² (of timber as well as stone) and 'drupada',³ with which latter may be compared 'śkambha' and 'vanaspati'⁴ (a pole or pillar, evidently a dressed and entire pine or 'śāla' trunk). This great variety of names for pillars and posts, and the importance of these and doors, shows that they were a marked feature of at least one other type of house-building. Thus, as compared with the 'Deltaic,' there would seem to have existed a Middle-Himālayan (and submontane) style also, characterized by skilled, heavy and profuse timber-work: of which, again, the later and modern parallel is equally striking.⁵

To this timber architecture would naturally⁶ belong the references to the use of metals in house-construction, such as the 'ayahsthūna's⁷ (copper, bronze or iron pillars) and 'parigha's⁸ (metal bolts); and they must have been very well-known and prominent features to be used early as proper names.⁹ There is no improbability involved in this, as in the early Vedic age 'ayas' was widely used,¹⁰ and smelting¹¹ and

1 With variants 'medhi,' 'methi,' or 'methi':—Av. VIII, 5, 20; XIV, 1, 40; Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 9, 4; Kāth. Sam. XXXV, 8; Ait. Brā. I, 29, 22; Sat. Brā. III, 5, 3, 21; Pañc. Brā. XIII, 9, 17; Jaim. Brā. I, 19, 1;—for use in palisades, cf. Rv. VIII, 53, 5.

2 'Śaṅku' usually=wooden post, peg, or even pin (in Rv. and Brā.s.—vide V.I., II, 349); but a stone pillar, in 'vṛtra-śaṅku': Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 1 (cf. ibid. IV, 2, 5, 15, and scholiast on Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XXI, 3, 31).

3 Rv. I, 24, 13; IV, 32, 23; Av. VI, 63, 3; 115, 2; XIX, 47, 9; Vāja. Sam. XX, 20; for use as posts for victims and offenders: cf. Rv. I, 24, 13, and Av. XIX, 47, 9 above, and Av. XIX, 50, 1; VI, 84, 4 (=63, 3 above); also Rv. VII, 86, 5.

4 Av. IX, 3, 11; Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 8, 4.

5 Thus the rich carved wood-work and timber structures of the lower hills and slopes of the Southern Himālayas (from Kāśmīr and Yamunā sources to Eastern Nepāl, and the submontane plains (e.g. Shāharanpur and other districts) have all along been famous and characteristic of those parts. (Cf. the place-names: 'Kāth-maṇḍu' and 'Kāth-godām').

6 So also, excellence in metal work is found side by side with that in wood-work in the above region (cf. the well-known artistic products in this line of Nepāl, Moradabad, etc.).

7 Rv. V, 62, 7, 8.

8 Chānd. Upan. II, 24, 6. 10. 15; (and often later).

9 'Ayahsthūna': Sat. Brā. XI, 4, 2, 17 (the name belongs to an earlier age): 'Parigha': a king's name in the Purāṇic genealogy (Yādava), step No. 42.

10 In arrows, kettles, cups, etc. (in Rv.).

11 'Dhmātā' smelter; 'dhmātari,' smelting furnace: Rv. V, 9, 5; smelting: Rv. IV, 2, 17; feather-bellows: Rv. IX, 112, 2; smelting ores (aśman): Sat. Brā. VI, 1, 3, 5.

beaten¹ 'ayas'² are referred to; the 'ayahsthūna's and 'āyasi pur's would thus imply the strengthening of timber pillars, palisades or walls, by copper or steel³-plating and sundry metal fittings. This would constitute a necessary earlier stage of architecture to account for the elaborate gold-plated and inlaid timber-pillars of the fourth century Mauryan palace.

* The first explicit mention of the use of burnt bricks ('pakva') for structural purposes occurs rather late, in the Satapatha⁴ (6th—7th cent. B.C.); but even there, this 'pakva' and the 'iṣṭakā,' which is used throughout, are taken as identical; and as the reference is to the building of sacrificial fire-altars, it is clear that this use of 'burnt' bricks was more or less traditional,⁵ and not a recent innovation⁶; besides, various well-known personages are stated to have erected such fire-altars,⁷ some of whom can be approximately fixed in time with the help of 'traditional' chronology: so that such constructions would go back to the earlier Vedic period.⁸ 'Iṣṭakā' is indeed the traditional material⁹ for building the fire-altar even in the Yv. Samhitās¹⁰; and though not specially called 'burnt,' these bricks were almost certainly so: for it is often stated

- 1 For 'soma' vessels: Rv. IX, 1, 2.
- 2 The use of 'sheet' iron is more probable than cast iron, though the antiquity of ore-smelting (probably pre-Aryan) and the quite early occurrence (cir. 300 A.D.) of massive and highly finished foundry products, may indicate an earlier long standing use of cast iron posts and rods for structural purposes.
- 3 Indian steel was well-known in the far Western countries in the 6th and 5th cents. B.C., and was as much prized by the Greeks in the 4th as tributes of precious gems. It is quite likely, therefore, that 'steel' should have been variously used for strengthening defences within India itself, before its fame spread abroad.
- 4 Sat. Brā. VI, 1, 2, 22; VII, 2, 1, 7; in the former passage it is said that the 'pakva' is called 'iṣṭakā' because it is 'iṣṭa,' offered to the fire (the derivation being a late etymological fiction; cf. the fanciful explanation of the form 'iṣṭakā' rather than 'pa' or 'pam': ibid. X, 5, 1, 5; also vide ante, re 'iṣṭa'); in the latter, a special 'black' 'pakva' is made by baking the brick in 'rice-husk' fire. 'Pakva' in Rv., Av., and Brā., means simply 'baked,' or 'cooked food' (vide V.I., s.v.); in Rv. VI, 63, 9, however, the sense of baked bricks, or a 'house of baked bricks' (a 'puccā' house), may suit quite well (as horses, slaves, chariots, etc., are given away by certain Kings, Puraya, etc., to the priest, along with 'pakva'). (N.B.—The substantives are all understood in this passage.)
- 5 I.e., representing Yajurvedic (Vājasaneyā) tradition of a much earlier age.
- 6 Cf. the conservatism of the Satapatha regarding proposed changes in Rgvedic texts (and to a less extent in Yv. texts).
- 7 E.g. Tura-Kāvaṣeya: Sat. Brā. IX, 5, 2, 15; Syāparṇa-Sāyakāyana: ibid. VI, 2, 1, 39; IX, 5, 2, 1.
- 8 E.g. Tura-Kāvaṣeya, temp. Janamejaya-Pāriṣita I, cir. 20 steps above the close of the Rgvedic period.
- 9 Cf. 'iṣṭaka-cit': Taitt. Sam. I, 5, 8, etc.
- 10 E.g. the IVth and Vth books of the Taitt. Sam. (mantras and explanatory matters re 'agnicayana'). The details regarding altar construction in these are practically the same as in the Sat. Brā., thus showing that the use of bricks was traditional and almost co-existent with brāhmanism.

there by way of explanation, that bricks were invented apparently by the Aṅgirasas) to save Earth from being excessively burnt¹ by the sacrificial fire²; their supporting strength³ and capacity of resisting the waters⁴ are often specified; and amongst the many types of bricks used, were the 'svaymātrṇṇā'⁵ or 'naturally perforated' bricks, and 'bricks of all colours',⁶ the former being a characteristic product of the kiln,⁷ and the latter probably referring either to the various shades of red in the brick-piles, or to enamelled bricks⁸; while mortar ('purīṣa') that could be compared to flesh adhering to bones,⁹ had probably an admixture of pounded red bricks. The art of brick-laying was an old and developed one in the Yajurvedic age, judging from the great variety of names and forms of the alter-bricks, amongst which may be mentioned the 'circular bricks' ('maṇḍaleṣṭakā')¹⁰ the 'earless' or corner-less bevelled bricks ('vikarṇī'),¹¹ the 'crest' or conical bricks ('coḍā'),¹² the 'gold-headed' bricks ('vāmabhṛt'),¹³ the shaped 'pot'-bricks ('kumbheṣṭakā'),¹⁴ and other bricks with various linear markings¹⁵ and of different sizes.¹⁶ Mortar (of mud and rubble, sand or

1 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 10; 5, 2, etc.

2 It is indeed only natural that the use of the baked bricks should have early suggested itself for sacrificial structures, for the properties of burnt clay would be evident to any fire-worshipper; besides, with the growing ritual importance and significance of the altar, square or rectangular bricks must have been invented or adapted, and these, if unbaked at first would soon suggest the burnt brick.

3 E.g. the 'aśādhā brick of thousandfold strength': Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; 'the brick that quaketh not' ('svayamātrṇṇā'): ibid. IV, 3, 6; V, 3, 2; 'Brhaspati saw in bricks the support of sacrifice': ibid. V, 3, 5; 'brick-altar' representing 'the firm earth in the midst of waters': ibid. V, 6, 4.

4 E.g. Taitt. Sam., V, 6, 4 (in n. 3 above): 'bricks keeping the altar from being swept away by waters': ibid. V, 3, 10.

5 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; 3, 2; 3, 6; 4, 10; V, 2, 8; 3, 2; etc.

6 Taitt. Sam. V, 7, 8.

7 This is called 'jāhā' in vern., meaning perforated (cf. the cognate words 'jāñjhrā,' and 'jāñjhāri,' of same signification).

8 Enamelled earthenware and tiles have long been a speciality of the lower Middle-Gangetic districts (Eastern U. P.).

9 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 3.

10 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 5; V, 3, 9; etc.

11 Taitt. Sam. V, 3, 7; etc. (These were always placed topmost, and over the 'nākasad' or 'vault-sitter' bricks: apparently by way of ornamentation).

12 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 3 (also placed, like 'vikarṇī' bricks, on the top, over the 'vault-sitters'); V, 3, 7; etc.

13 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; V, 5, 3; 5, 5; 7, 6; 7, 9; etc. [Cf. enamelled bricks of the 3rd millennium B.C. at the recently excavated Sindh-Punjab sites.]

14 Taitt. Sam. V, 6, 1; etc.

15 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 3; 2, 10 (cf. S.B.E. xliii, p. 21., n. 1, *re* lines on square and rectangular bricks); of the various types of linear markings named in Āpast. Sūtra, at least one is known to Taitt. Sam.: cf. ibid. V, 7, 8.

16 The Sūtras have 4 traditional sizes for the square brick: measuring 'pāda,' 'aratni,' 'uryasthi,' and 'apūka'; the various shapes noted above of course involve different sizes.

pounded bricks) was freely used¹ in "making bricks firm,"² cementing successive layers of bricks,³ and in plastering over⁴; such adhesive plasters must have been essential in the construction of the alternative forms of the altar,⁵ like the 'bird'-styles (representing the 'śyena,' 'kaṅka' or 'alaja'), or the 'bowl' or 'granary' ('drona'), 'chariot-wheel,' 'circle,' 'cemetery' (śmaśāna), and 'triangle' models. Large numbers⁶ of bricks were used for these altars: the measurements of one altar is given as 36 feet along the centre, E. to W., and 30 and 24 feet across at the back and front respectively, and it is said the outer limits of the measurements of the altar depends on what area the builder thinks he could very well use⁷; the first, second and third pilings are to be made of one, two and three thousand bricks respectively⁸; and the bricks ready before an altar-builder (who wishes those became his cows) are roundly estimated⁹ at hundreds of thousands. The rites performed on leaving a homestead, with a view to re-establishment elsewhere, show that in the ordinary household also the altar was brick-built, and apparently these bricks were dismantled, carried to, and refitted in the new 'vāstu'.¹⁰ It would be extraordinary if bricks were not used for the secular house-buildings as well, while altars (household or special) and cemeteries¹¹ were brick-built. It is remarkable that throughout the "brick" —mantras, reference is made to "the manner in which Aṅgiras placed¹² the bricks firmly,"¹³ or invented them,¹⁴ or used them for better building of the

1 E.g. in Taitt. Sam. I, 2, 12; II, 6, 4.

2 E.g. in Taitt. Sam V, 2, 3.

3 E.g. in Taitt. Sam. V, 6, 10. Cf. 'seasonal' bricks being "the internal cement of the layers"; *ibid.* V, 4, 2.

4 'Just as bone is covered with flesh': Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 3.

5 Taitt. Sam. V, 4, 11. (The structural peculiarities of some of these types, according to the Sūtra comment, were: a round-topped block (the head) for the 'kaṅka'; curved 'wings,' for the 'śyena'; 'caturasra' or 'parimaṇḍala' (square or round) blocks for the 'granary' ('drona'); and square round form for the 'śmaśāna').

6 Cf. similar large numbers in the Sat. Brā. 'agnicayana' directions: e.g. 756 bricks: Sat. Brā. X, 5, 4, 5.

7 Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 4.

8 Taitt. Sam. V, 6, 7; (the height of altars being up to knee, navel, and neck, respectively).

9 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 11 ("these bricks hundred hundred thousand millions"). Cf. *ibid.* V, 4, 2.

10 Taitt. Sam. IV, 4, 10. Cf. the dismantling of 'iṭa' etc., and carrying of them in the Atharva-vedic mantras (*vide ante*).

11 The direction that brick-altars could be erected after the model of (round or square) śmaśānas, shown that these latter were also brick structures by the time of the Yv. Samhitās.

12 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; 4, 3; etc.

13 So also in Sat. Brā. the expression is repeated: e.g. X, 5, 1, 5 ('sādanā, settling of the brick, may be the original for the vern. phrase 'iṭ sājana').

14 Taitt. Sam. V, 5, 2; cf. V, 2, 10; so also bricks are said to have been "fashioned by the toils of seers like metres": V, 3, 5.

fire-altar¹; sometimes Bṛhaspati (also an Āṅgīrasa) is introduced;² and the brick (Iṣṭakā) is addressed and worshipped as a goddess ('devī').³ All this is strikingly similar to the expressions and notions of the architectural sections of the Purāṇas,⁴ where the laying of bricks and other stages of house-construction are accompanied by references to the Āṅgīrasas and their deified 'daughters.' In view of what has already been said about the ordinary 'brāhmanic' dwelling-houses of the Gangetic type (as described in the 'Āṅgīrasa Veda') and the use of clay and unburnt bricks ('iṭa') in them,⁵ and of the fact that the dwelling-house is addressed in the same Veda as 'Iḍā' (which also is evidently connected with the Dravidian roots and words meaning digging, bricks, and house),⁶—the inference becomes irresistible, that this consistent association of the Āṅgīrasas with the invention and use of 'iṣṭakā,' in Vedic as well as Purāṇic tradition, is but another⁷ indication of a fact of cultural history, that the civilization of 'brāhmanism,' with its sacrificial cult and symbolism, its building activities and material achievements and equipments, was originally Gangetic, Eastern and non-Āryan. In any case, it is quite clear that a third structural style, characterized by the use of clay, plasters, and bricks, dried or baked (of diverse moulds and probably even enamelled sometimes) was already in existence in the 10th century B.C.,⁷ being referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and the later Saṃhitās, and is implied for the earlier Rgvedic period⁸; and here too, the conclusion agrees with the regional indications of the references: for this style can only have arisen in the riparian districts along the north of the Ganges (middle and lower).

It is in the Śatapatha again, that the first clear mention of stone structures of a recognizable type is made,—but in a way that would indicate a well-formed, distinct and traditional

1 Taitt. Sam. V, 3, 5.

2 Vide p. 14, page 37. (Some special forms of altar-bricks or manner of laying are associated with Viśvāmitra and his contemporaries: this may indicate the taking up of brāhmanical sacrificial cult and connected brick-building by the Ailas in that period).

3 Taitt. Sam. IV, 2, 9; cf. the house goddess 'mānasya patni' fixed by the gods in the beginning (Av. III, 12, 5), and Bṛhaspati first putting together the house (Av. IX, 3, 2-3). (Vide p. 31, and notes 7 and 8 in it.)

4 Cf. the 'vāstu-māna' sections of Agni, Garuḍa, and Matsya.

5 Vide ante.

6 Cf. the same indication in the evidence about 'furniture' etc., infra.

7 [Evidences of a highly developed art of making bricks, glass and glazed pottery of various sorts, dating from cir. 3000 B.C., have been discovered very recently in the upper and lower Indus plains. It is thus quite probable that the literary evidence with regard to the use of bricks, etc., in the Gangetic plains is trustworthy.]

8 For the Yajurvedic altar and bricks must have been known to the sacrificial hymns of Rv.; cf. also the occurrence and sense of 'pakva' in Rv. VI, 63, 9, and the Brāhmaṇa allusions to Rgvedic brick-altar builders (vide ante.).

style. Its remarks on the erection of 'śmaśānas' (over burnt or buried bodies) are significant. They show a marked difference in the contemporary modes of building¹ these funeral and memorial structures. The 'Prācya' mode of erecting tombs is strongly disapproved² (from the point of view of the Kuru-Pāñcāla and Videha³ brāhmaṇ). Apart from minor differences within the approved range as regards special forms for the several orders,⁴ the structural type that is regarded as unorthodox is described clearly as round and dome-shaped ('parimaṇḍalā')⁵; that whereby the Easterners make the 'śmaśāna' "separate from the earth" unlike good people,⁶ is described by the usual Vedic word for a large hemispherical bowl,⁷ 'camū,' which must here refer to something like a vault or dome of solid stone or bricks⁸; the structure is then 'enclosed by an indefinite number of enclosing stones'⁹; and

¹ Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

² Ibid. XIII, 8, 1, 5; 2, 1; cf. IX, 5, 1, 64.

³ The preference for north-inclined and saline soil points to a Videha origin of these views.

⁴ Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 6-12; 3, 11.

⁵ Ibid. XIII, 8, 1.

⁶ Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

⁷ For pouring Soma; also=mortar for 'Soma' pressing, which would be of stone; probably the bowl was occasionally of stone, just as there were soma-cups of 'ayas'; (for the 'hemispherical vessel,' cf. vern. 'jām(b)-bāṭi' of same shape). For the metaphorical use of 'camū' in Rv. to mean vault or dome, vide infra.

⁸ Cf. S.B.E. 44, 430, n. 1.

⁹ Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 2, 2; as in the case of the fire-hearth, and set up with formulæ. This stone enclosure might also belong to the orthodox style, but the context would rather give it to the other style. 'Stones' or 'bricks' are, however, alternative materials (without any preference for one or the other) in the Sūtra applications (vide Whitney Av., pp. 886-7) of Av. XVIII, 4, 55 (building a 'harmya' for the dead), where the left side of the piled mound is finally beaten over ('kuttay'), i.e. made 'puccā,' with a number of 'śilā' or 'iṣṭakā' (the variant 'śalākā' is pointless; * cf. the frequent phrase 'śileṣṭakā' in the 'vāstu' section of Purāṇas). From these indications, and from the recognition of round forms in the construction of altars and śmaśānas in the later Saṃhitās (vide p. 37, n. 5, and p. 42) it would appear that the antagonism to round and stone structures displayed by the Śatapatha is a later development in the 7th century B.C., very likely due to the growing estrangement between Prācya and Midland religious and philosophical doctrines which ultimately found expression in the Buddhistic reformation.**

* So also in the application of AV. XVIII, 3, 50-51 (earth covering up like mother with 'sic' and wife with cloth), in Kauś. 86, 10, it is evidently śilā and iṣṭakā that are placed and not 'śalākā.'

** For recognition of round forms, cf. also Taitt. Saṃ. IV, 3, 2 and 3 (arrangement of bricks in a circle); IV, 4, 10 (placing of 'nakṣatra' bricks in a circle); and the 'maṇḍaleṣṭakā' (noted above).

stones are used instead of the square bricks in the case of non-fire-worshippers.¹ The orthodox style of 'śmaśāna' is stated to be square or quadrilateral,² 'not separate from the earth,'³ (i.e., not prominent and towering⁴ like the banned type, and of 'earth and earthen' materials,—clay and bricks,—as opposed to stone), and bricks one foot square are used in its construction⁵; and a memorial mound like a fire-altar⁶ is prescribed⁷ for builders of the same.⁸ It is evident that the former is the prototype of the Buddhistic, Eastern and heretical, 'stūpa' architecture of the very next epoch,—and through it of the 'Śaiva' temple styles of subsequent ages⁹; and that the latter is a specially 'brāhmanical' style, associated with sacrificial altars¹⁰ and the middle Gangetic country, and thus with bricks¹⁰ and rectilinear figures,—strikingly paralleled by the similar sacrificial and geometric style of squares and bricks in ancient Babylonia, and represented recognizably in some later forms of 'brāhmanical' temple architecture.¹¹

1 Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 11.

2 Ibid. XIII, 8, 1, 1ff.

3 Ibid. XIII, 8, 2, 1.

4 The Satapatha insists repeatedly on the 'śmaśāna' being not too large or high: e.g. XIII, 8, 1, 18 (an ordinary altar's size); 8, 2, 6—12 (generally and preferably to be knee-high, though structures as high as the thigh, hip, mouth and upstretched arm, might be allowed for vaiśyas, women, brāhmanas and ksatriyas, respectively;—note Ksatriya superiority).

5 Ibid. XIII, 8, 4, 11; not 'marked' like altar-bricks.

6 It is noteworthy that about 3 centuries later, Alexander used fire-altars as 'memorials,' apparently according to the Indian custom; to impress the Indians he is said to have built on the Beās (cf. the custom of building fire-altars on river-banks, indicated in Sat. Brā. and earlier as far back as the Rv.) stupendous and sculptured fire-altars of stone, which Candragupta later on utilized for sacrificial purposes.

7 Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1, 1ff; sometimes 'without wings and tail,' i.e., in the form of a simple cubical altar, without the 3 adjacent cubes; the special recommendation of the Satapatha is an irregular quadrilateral with sides joining at S. shorter than those at N.; but this may refer to the area enclosed by cords, within which the altar-like śmaśāna is raised.

8 This may imply that those, on the other hand, who built (and worshipped at) the round stūpas, were similarly honoured by round funeral memorials. It may be noted here that worship of the funeral mound is implied in Av. XVIII, 4, 38 (it is thought to bestow boons on worshippers), and that the 'previous Buddhas' also had their 'stūpas.'

9 Characterized by the round dome; it has been designated 'Dravidian' by Fergusson, but Havell rightly traces it to Buddhistic round forms and symbolism; ethnically of course the sources of this style may have been Dravidian (but Fergusson did not use it in this sense).

10 Vide ante.

11 Cf. the Southern style of Madurā, Tānjore, etc.; also in earlier monasteries of several stories, built pyramidically.

The 'Prācyas' referred to here cannot be those deltaic and riparian Easterners,¹ to whom the Atharva-vedic style of house-building must be attributed; the passages in the Śatapatha² may be taken to mean "the Āsurya section of the Prācyas," i.e., either the unorthodox Magadhan Prācyas or the Prācyas who follow Āsuri's tenets,—the proto-Buddhistic creeds (the association of round stone structures with them, in the latter case, being historically sound); the very allusion to solid stone or brick vaults, stone enclosures, and stones as substitutes for bricks, shows that the region meant is Magadha,³ known as Prācī pre-eminently, in the 4th century B.C. [Magadha and Kikāṭa are looked down upon in early as well as later Vedic literature⁴; and it is precisely these regions⁵ which have an ancient tradition of stone masonry and ware; so also, when the cars of the Prācyas, the 'vipathas,'⁶ are disapproved by Midlanders,⁷ it is evidently the rough country of Kikāṭa-

¹ Of Vaiśālī, Aṅga, Vaṅga, etc.; vide ante.

² Śat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1; 8, 2, 1.

³ It is noteworthy that so far the earliest known remains of vaulted and polished caves, of stone enclosures, walls or pillars, are in Magadha or of Magadhan origin.

⁴ E.g. in Vāja. Sam. XXX, 5, 22; or Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 4, 22; vide also note 6 below; Cf. also the famous Rv. reference, "Kīṃ te kṛvanti Kikāṭesu, etc." In Purāṇic tradition (cf. Vāyu. 78, 21—22) the land of Triśaṅku, bet. Kaikāṭa and the Mahānadi, is avoided by orthodox people. Kikāṭa and Gayā are almost identical in Vā. 105—112. So also, the benighted region where Triśaṅku is banished seems from epic indications as well (cf. e.g. all that is said about Viśvāmitra, Mataṅga and his tirtha: Mbh. I, 71, 2925—28 with Hariv. V, 717ff.; III, 87, 8321 (in the East); III, 84, 8079; III, 85, 8159; XIII, 27—29 (Gayā); XIII, 3, 189 (in the South); cf. Varāha. V and VIII (conn. with Mithilā and Orissa) to have been no other than Kikāṭa (cf. also popular traditions re Rhotasgarh and R. Karmanāśā). And if the Kikāṭas of Mbh., whose country the Pāṇḍavas passed just before coming to Ekacakrā, and who cremated their lusty chiefs with their women, are the same as the Kikāṭas (vide infra. sec. re widow-burning),—it is another trace (even) in the epic literature of the low estimation of these Prācyas.

⁵ Now represented by Gayā and Cunnār; also similar regions westwards along the Vindhyan borderland, Jubbulpur, Gwalior and Jaipur, representing ancient Cedi and Matsya, very closely connected with Magadha in the Purāṇic tradition.

⁶ Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1 (a very old passage); Lāt. Śr. Sūt. VIII, 6, 9.

⁷ The difference between Magadha-Prācī and the Midlands in styles of living and housing is apparently also indicated by sundry statements in the Vedic literature like these:—Dwelling-houses are sometimes specifically called 'Ārya' (Rv. IX, 63, 14), which would be unnecessary if extra-Āryan types were not known or adapted from; the 'Vrātya grhapati' (Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1—4) is specified, and the 'Vrātya' chieftain with his attendant 'Māgadha' (Av. XV, 2) is described and glorified, 'Vrātya' here evidently meaning Magadhan; an Āryan was required to reside in a Nisāda settlement (S. E. of Madhyadeśa, i.e., Kikāṭa-Magadha) before performing the Viśvajit sacrifice (Kaus. Brā. XXV, 15; Pañc. Brā. XVI, 6, 8); and villages were close together and frequent in the East, but there were long stretches of forests in the West (Ait. Brā. III, 44), thus showing that architectural styles must have been largely of 'Eastern' origin.

Magadha¹ that is referred to.] 'Smaśāna' structures of the two types distinguished by the Śatapatha were evidently known in the earlier Yajurvedic period. Thus a fire-altar and a 'smaśāna' are similarly piled, so that the former has to be differentiated by burying a 'living' tortoise in it²; again, certain altars are piled in the form of 'smaśānas,' which, according to the Sūtra comment on the directions, are of two well-known types, round or square,³ just as the 'drona's or 'grain-stores,' which also supply the models for other types of altar, were round or square structures.⁴ In the Av. and Rv. also, it may be a round type of 'smaśāna' that is set up, with "Swell thou up (ucchañcasva) . . . let the earth remain swelling up . . . let a thousand props support it"⁵; while the funeral structure that is said to be 'cayanena citam'⁶ is obviously of the same type as the square altar. Knowledge of big round structures like the 'stūpas' (or 'camū's of the Prācyas) is suggested by the metaphorical use of 'camvā' in Rv. to denote the vault of heaven placed on the earth⁷; so also the Rgevdic use of the word 'stūpa' itself clearly shows that it was a structural term as well: thus Agni on the altar "extends up to the sun's disc with 'stūpa's of flames,"⁸ and "Varuṇa upholds the 'stūpa' of light on the baseless firmament."⁹

The Śatapatha classifies 'smaśāna' structures into the ordinary 'vāstu' or reliquary of bones, etc., 'grhāṇ' and

1 Where the 'śagad' and the 'ekkā' are still characteristic conveyances evoking much comment (for a humorous satire cf. the mod. Beng. ballad "Vighore Vihāre cadinu ekkā," etc.). The 'śagad' is characterized by solid timber or stone wheels, 'śāla'-timber body and a peculiar drowsy long-drawn squeak heard from great distance (cf. 'śakata' in the 'aranyāni' hymn in Rv.; cf. also the peculiar construction of the traditional toy-cart, 'mṛt-śakata'); it is comparatively low-built and drawn by buffaloes, and can be drawn over all sorts of rough tracks and regions. The (one-horsed) 'ekkā' is probably alluded to in Vedic passages where conveyances with a single horse are deprecated; (generally, in contrast with those with 2 or more horses: Rv. X, 131, 3; Taitt. Brā. I, 8, 2, 4; III, 8, 21, 3; Pañc. Brā. XVI, 13, 12; XVIII, 9, 7; Ait. Brā. V, 30, 6; Sat. Brā. XIII, 3, 3, 9; etc.; poor people content with one-horsed car: Rv. X, 101, 11; VI, 15, 19; Pañc. Brā. XXI, 13, 8; etc.). The 'ekkā' also is suited for rough country use, and might well be called 'vipatha.'

2 Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 8, 5 (cf. also Kāth. Sam. III, 4, 7, *re* smaśāna).

3 Taitt. Sam. V, 4, 11, 3.

4 Taitt. Sam. V, 4, 11; the Sūtra ascription of 'caturasra' and 'parimaṇḍala' styles to both funeral tumuli and grain-stores is interesting; vide ante *re* connection between 'stūpas' and grain-stores.

5 Av. XVIII, 3, 50-51=Rv. X, 18, 11-12.

6 Av. XVIII, 4, 37.

7 Rv. III, 55, 20.

8 Rv. VII, 2, 1.

9 Rv. I, 24, 7; 'stūpa' in Av. VI, 60, 1, is used of the round coil of hair on Aryaman's head; the figurative use here and elsewhere (vide V.I., s.v. 'stūpa') may well be compared with the comparison of the house-top with 'opasa' and parting of the hair (vide ante).

'prajñānam.'¹ The first is evidently the tumulus, round or square, which forms the subject of so much comment in that Brāhmaṇa. The term 'grhāṇ' used of a special type of 'śmaśāna' is particularly interesting: properly it means a dwelling-house with many chambers; applied to a 'śmaśāna' it would signify that the funeral structure was either an actual house (mausoleum) with many rooms, erected over or beside the grave in memory of the deceased, and for the benefit of his soul dedicated to some religious order, or philanthropic use,² or that these 'grhāṇ' are the chambers and vaults of subterranean or rock-cut caves.³ 'Grhāṇ,' however, is nothing new in the later Brāhmaṇa age, for the Av. (as well as the Rv.) mentions it frequently⁴: thus referring to a funeral structure it says,—“let these 'grhāsaḥ' be a refuge for him for ever”⁵; elsewhere, “make ye 'grha's for him according

1 Sat. Brā. XIII, 8, 1; (cf. also comm. on it). For 'vāstu' in this sense, cf. Kapila-vāstu, where the sense must be “the memorial 'stūpa' of Kapila” rather than the ‘abode of Kapila,’ as usually taken. Kapila lived in the middle of the 8th century B.C. according to Purāṇic evidence (vide Pargiter: AIHT, pp. 330—332); hence, it is evident that the styles referred to in Sat. Brā.⁶ were at least two centuries earlier than itself,—an important point.

2 All this is characteristic of Buddhism in the very next epoch, and traces of Buddhistic features can only be expected in the later Vedic literature.

3 This also would be a Buddhistic feature; relics were deposited in rock-cut caves in historical times; in the Epic the rock-cut caves of Girivraja are used for condemned prisoners or human victims, and other caves are also said to be similarly used; the Epic also knows of ascetics in subterranean caves; the Barābar caves may have been intended as memorial 'śmaśānas' of some Maurya emperors, presumably Aśoka, etc. The Roman catacombs and Egyptian cave-graves offer instructive parallels. Another remarkably Magadhan and Buddhistic feature found in the 'śmaśāna' of the Śatapatha is the regulation “let there be 'citra's on the back of the 'śmaśāna,'” “for 'citra's mean offspring.” (The comm. takes it as=natural scenery; this is absurd, specially as natural scenery is suggested as an alternative in the following lines). In the case of the brick-built tumuli, these 'citra's would be ‘paintings’ on suitable plaster, but in the case of the stone-built round ‘camū’ of the Easterners the most suitable ‘citra's would be sculptured figures in relief; the nature of these ‘citra's is indicated by the reason given: the figures painted or carved were of women and children, and possibly couples of men and women. It is interesting to compare the account in the Epic of the representation of the fertility goddess Jarā (or Jaṭā; cf. the traditional village spirit, Jaṭā-budī) on the palace walls of the King of Girivraja, of a plump woman with children all around, and also the panels of female figures, amorous couples, etc., in the later ‘stūpa’ and ‘vihāra’ architecture (cf. the Orissa temple sculptures).

4 Besides, 'śmaśāna' and 'sadman' (house) are often spoken of as parallel things: e.g. Av. V, 31, 8; X, 1, 18; so also by burying a live tortoise an altar becomes a 'vāstavya' and not a 'śmaśāna' (Taitsu. Sam. V, 2, 8, 5); (probably there is an implied pun on 'vāstu' here).

5 Av. XVIII, 3, 51=Rv. X, 18, 12.

to his kindred¹; again, "as the 5 clans ('mānava') implanted a 'harmya' for Yama, so I implant a 'harmya' that there may be many of me."² It would be too much of a forced explanation to take 'grhān' as a metaphorical expression throughout, specially beside the technical sense³ given to it by the Satapatha; even in the Rgvedic description of the grave as a 'mr̥maya gr̥ha'⁴ into which one goes down, though there is an element of figure, yet the use of 'gr̥ha' seems significant: it is possible that the phrase unconsciously refers to subterranean burial chambers or vaults. The 'prajñānam' of the Satapatha (beside the 'reliquary' and the 'chambers') can only mean some sort of a memorial monument, like a pillar. A pillar (sthūnā) indeed is set up on the Rgvedic grave⁵ (in the Av. also; and a 'loga' (pole) is erected after the earth is piled up ('ut-stabh') from about the grave⁶; and on the 'sthūnā' maintained by the Fathers 'Yama makes seats for the departed'⁷; and it is probably such memorial pillars (on which the spirits 'sit') that are referred to, where 'the bride-beholding fathers' are asked to be propitious to the bride as the marriage-procession passes a cemetery.⁸ These 'prajñāna' pillars may have been of timber originally⁹; but as bricks or stone came to be used for the

- 1 Av. XVIII, 4, 37. The qualification 'according to his kindred,' evidently means that the size and excellence of the 'grhān' depended on the number, position and means of the kinsmen of the deceased (cf. its exemplification in actual Buddhistic dedicatory structures).
- 2 Av. XVIII, 4, 55. The use of 'harmya' is significant, as in early Vedic literature 'harmya' has the sense of a big establishment, with many apartments and adjuncts, and is used also of kings' residences. The motive of building a funeral 'harmya' as given above is noteworthy: it foreshadows the dedicatory buildings and parts of them in the subsequent Buddhistic age.
- 3 Cf. the sense of a big structure involved in the city-name 'Rājagṛha.'
- 4 Rv. VII, 89, 1.
- 5 Rv. X, 18, 3=Av. XVIII, 3, 52.
- 6 Av. XVIII, 3, 52=Rv. X, 18, 3; 'loga' here is usually rendered 'clod'; but it seems in the next passage to be identified with 'sthūnā,' and 'loga' elsewhere means a pole (stuck into the bottom of the waters, in marriage ritual; vide, Kauś. 75, 14, applying Av. XIV, 1, 37-38); cf. vern. 'lagi,' a bamboo or wooden pole, chiefly used by boatmen.
- 7 Av. XVIII, 3, 52=Rv. X, 18, 3. The reference to 'seats' on the pillar would indicate some sort of a capital; in this view, a 'lion-capital' would signify a memorial pillar in honour of a late king.
- 8 Av. XIV, 2, 73. The phrase 'bride-beholding fathers' would be particularly appropriate if the reference were to sculptured timber pillars bearing effigies of the deceased; (for wood sculpture vide Av. XII, 3, 33); grave-posts with effigies and rude representations of face or eyes are not unknown amongst primitive races.
- 9 Occasionally bodies were buried in hollowed-out tree-trunks ('vanaspati'), apparently a more primitive arrangement, a combined grave and a memorial pillar: Av. XVIII, 3, 70; cf. Rv. V, 78, 5; ('vr̥kṣa' in Av. XVIII, 2, 25, seems to mean a regular coffin which is buried in the earth; Sāyaṇa takes 'vanaspati' also in the same sense).

funeral tumuli,¹ these also would be of the same materials by and by; thus in the time of the Śatapatha a stone-pillar ('śaṅku')² was set up along with 3 timber ones at the four corners of the 'śmaśāna'.³ The Buddhistic monolithic pillar, erected beside the relic-stūpas and on the highways and public thoroughfares,⁴ is probably the developed form of such memorial 'śaṅkus' and the civic and sacrificial Vedic 'drupadas'⁵ (symbolical of royal⁶ and divine power⁷) to which offenders and sacrificial victims were bound: as the symbolism of the 'śmaśāna' structures developed with and under Buddhistic and proto-Buddhistic thought,⁸ and as offenders ceased to be punished so brutally, and sacrifices fell into disuse, these 'śaṅku' and 'drupada' pillars would be used for ethical purposes and 'dhamma' edicts (just as the traditional royal hunt was transformed into missionary tours).⁹ This is

- 1 Apart from the clear instances of the use of stone for the 'śmaśānas' noted above, an earlier use of stone is rendered possible in view of Rgvedic references to stone-built bulwarks and forts (vide ante). The very word 'śmaśāna' (possibly from 'asma-śayana,' according to Weber) would suggest that stone was all along the chief material in its construction; so that the origin of this special type of funeral structure would be Magadhan and non-brāhmanical, and when other materials are used, this would be due to brāhmanical adaptation of the 'śmaśāna,' characterized by opposition to use of stone and adherence to their own traditional bricks (vide ante). This view would also agree with the fact that the Śat. Brā. does not give details of the 'grhāṇ,' 'prajñānam' and 'round' forms of the 'śmaśānas,' and that whereas the symbolism of the altar is specially brāhmanical, that of the 'śmaśāna' is Buddhistic.
- 2 Made of 'vrtra' = stone, acc. to comm; the timber pillars are made of 'palāsa,' 'śami' and 'varana': Śat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 1; (cf. Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XXI, 3, 31, and Śat. Brā. IV, 2, 5, 15, with S.B.E. 44, 437, n. 1). 'Śaṅku' being associated with a tapering form, the stone-'śaṅku' would have a gradually narrowing shaft (like an obelisk).
- 3 Cf. the 4 pillars adjacent to the 'stūpa,' and later on to medieval mausoleums.
- 4 Roadside pillars and gateways are referred to very much earlier in the Av. (XIV, 1, 63) where marriage processions pass along the well-made road through 2 pillars (asked not to injure the bride: hence high and heavy); an arch or 'torāṇa' is evidently implied; these pillars (sthūṇā) may well have been of bricks or stone. Cf. Av. XIV, 2, 6, "pillar standing in the way," which however might refer to a row of posts barring the road.
- 5 Vide n. 3, p. 34.
- 6 Cf. the royal name 'Drupada,' beside 'Daṇḍa,' 'Daṇḍa-dhāra,' etc., found in Purāṇic and Epic lists; cf. also the ancient name Tri-śaṅku.
- 7 Cf. the symbolism of 'daṇḍa' and 'skambha.'
- 8 The keynote of Buddhistic (and Śaiva) architecture is this 'śmaśāna' symbolism, just as the 'altar' symbolism is associated with brāhmanical structures: it is probable that in Taitt. Sam. V, 2, 8, 5 (p. 42, n. 2), these two ancient groups of symbolism are hinted at.
- 9 Aśokan inscriptions refer to widely distributed pre-existing monolithic pillars, on which he ordered his edicts to be inscribed (cf. Samudragupta); vide end of Min. R. Ed. I, Rup. Text; end of Pill. Ed. VII; as opp. to fresh erection of such pillars, e.g., Rūmmin. Pill. Inscr.

sufficient explanation of the Aśokan pillars, and a theory of their Persepolitan origin is unnecessary.¹

From all this it may reasonably be concluded that a stone structural style with round forms, the immediate source of the Buddhistic architecture, was early developed in non-brāhmanical areas, particularly in Magadha; traces of which may be discovered in the earlier Vedic literature (cir. 10th cent. B.C. at least), and which was definitely flourishing in the 7th cent. B.C.

Summing up the evidence on structural forms, it seems probable that there were three main sources from which the early and later Vedic styles, the prototypes of subsequent well-known ones, were derived: the Lower Gangetic regions (including the delta), the Deccan borderland (including Magadha), and the Middle Himālayas (with submontane areas). These regions quite naturally gave rise to building styles characterized by bamboo and brick, stone, and timber, respectively. The first is associated with Āṅgirasas, brāhmanism, and what may be called Mānva regions; the second with the Vrātyas and Māgadhas (Prācyas), occupying an area assigned by tradition to a stock different from the Mānvas and Ailas but with superimposed layers of Ailas; the third would be brought by the Ailas into the plains from the Mongoloid mountainous areas they passed through and came in contact with. The ethnic and historical significance of such indications in the Vedic literature cannot be over-estimated, being also in agreement with the facts of Purāṇic tradition.²

1 It seems probable that Mauryan monolithic pillars had their origin from the indigenous toddy-palm. Magadha is thickly set with palm-groves, the prehistoric prototypes of ancient village halls with palm posts and of the Mauryan 1000-pillared halls (at first of timber). The palm leaf is of course the prehistoric material for writing in the Gangetic valley or the littoral; and the regular lines and spaces on the stem of the palm tree afford ready surface for inscriptions or public and royal orders in writing (at first with paints), this being suggested by the common use of palm leaf for writing. The palm develops a tapering monolith-like stem, crowned by a tuft of fans (some branches being often cut away for toddy) ('tālī'-drawing), resembling lions' manes at twilight, and thus suggesting a four-faced lion-capital, while the streaked toddy-vessel hung up aloft would suggest the so called 'bell'-capital. Probably criminals were hanged on or bound to the palm-trees by royal order (cf. the Vedic and Epic 'drupada'); 'tālī' is again 'vāruṇī,' belonging to Varuṇa, the god of justice, chastisement and kingly power; and the toddy-drawer is as much a 'Pāśī' as Varuṇa himself; his caste being so named from the use of a peculiar 'pāśa' (of palm-fibre, with the help of which he climbs up the tall slender trees); with such a 'pāśa' and by such a 'pāśī,' doubtless, the criminals of old were bound to or hanged from the palm trees (a folk tradition which seems to be responsible for various apparently unmeaning nursery rhymes about fearful spies and chastisers on palm trees, and for the 'folk-fear' that ghosts and spirits dwell on them and fall upon persons venturing to rest under them).

2 Vide Pargiter AIHT, chaps. XXIV, XXV, and XXVI.

FURNITURE, ETC.

If references to house-building in the Vedic literature are few and fragmentary, those to the internal equipments of such structures are necessarily so. The details found in the texts are mostly connected with ritual, and it is only incidentally that some secular and ordinary feature of house-furnishing is noted. The ritualistic types of furniture, again, cannot be taken as a faithful counterpart of the contemporary secular ones, for it is well-known that sacrificial and ritual requisites almost always remain primitive and unchanged throughout long ages, and it is particularly true of India¹; so that the 'furniture' of the priestly texts is almost that with which the 'brāhmaṇic' cult and civilization started.² So great is the ritual conservatism in these respects, that even where special circumstances required alteration in the sacrificial paraphernalia, the external items are transformed into 'brāhmaṇical'-looking accessories, by the employment of primitive materials sacred in ritual tradition.³

Naturally the 'furniture' most alluded to consists of various *seats* and *beds*. These were of very different grades of comfort and structural complexity, items connected with the ritual being always much cruder. Thus, 'prastara,'⁴ a sacrificial seat, consists only of strewn grass (*darbha*): 'barhis,'⁵ for the 'seats of the gods,' is a litter of 'balbaja'⁶ grass strewn on the sacrificial ground; 'kūrca'⁷ is a bundle of reedy grass for a seat, or a small square grass-mat easily rolled into a bundle; even where a 'cushion-seat' ('*br̥si*'), '*vṛṣi*,' or '*vṛṣi*'⁸ is used, it is of grass.⁹

¹ The same materials and shapes being mostly retained.

² The materials employed would indicate that a good part of the Brāhmaṇic equipment was 'Gangetic,' evidently forming the original stock, which was supplemented by other acquisitions of a Himālayan and middle-country character. (It would seem as if the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa age had inherited the traditional 'equipments' of both the Northern Aryans and the Eastern Pre-Aryans).

³ E.g. the 'Brāhmaṇa' treatment of the Imperial throne, sadly reduced and metamorphosed in the ritual.

⁴ Rv. X, 14, 4; Av. 2, 6; Taitt. Sam. I, 7, 4; Vāj. Sam. II, 18; XVIII, 63; Ait. Brā. I, 26; II, 3; Sat. Brā. I, 3, 3, 5; etc.

⁵ Quite common in Rv., Taitt. Sam., Vāja. Sam. etc.; (vide V.I. II, 61).

⁶ Kāth. Sam. X, 10; Taitt. Sam. II, 2, 8, 2; Mait. Sam. II, 2, 5.

⁷ Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 8, 5; Sat. Brā. XI, 5, 3, 4, 7; Ait. Aran. V, 1, 4; Bṛhād. Up. II, 11, 1.

⁸ Ait. Aran. I, 2, 4; V. I, 3, 3, 2; Sāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. XVII, 4, 7; 6, 6; Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XIII, 3, 1. The '*br̥si*' seat, i.e. the padding of it was a span high (Sāṅkh. Aran. (Keith), viii.).

⁹ Just as the sacrificer's wife wears a garment of Kuśa grass for some rites,—a relic of primitive dress (Sat. Brā. V, 2, 1, 8).

But there were other seats of a more advanced type. Thus the 'sadas,' from which the 'sadasya'¹ watched the performance of the sacrifice, must have been a raised seat, and of a style specially associated with his office. The 'kaśipu'² is a mat or cushion made from reeds ('naḍa') crushed by stones, and 'naḍvalā'³ is a bed of similar stuff; and 'kaṭa'⁴ is a 'vaitasa' or rattan mat, made of split cane or cane-like bamboo. These were the products of regular, ancient and indigenous crafts: 'kāśa'⁵ was very early used for mats, etc.; and there were professional women workers in 'naḍa'⁶ (reeds, canes, etc.) of the swamps, or in 'kaṇṭaki',⁷ apparently the thorny cactus, whose fibres were used to plait mats and stuff cushions.⁸ These 'kāri's evidently turned out artistic seats and carpets, as the early occurrence of 'hiranya-kaśipu'⁹ shows; the reference here is plainly to the use of 'gold threads and fringes' in the web, borders and designs of the 'mat'; so also the 'golden kūrcā'¹⁰ on which the King sits at the 'Aśvamedha,' while the 'hotr' sits on another 'golden' seat ('kaśipu'), is clearly the finished rich work of craftsmen, as compared with the primitive bundle of plaited grass.

It is noteworthy, however, that all¹¹ the 'seats' mentioned in the ritualistic texts, are made of long grass, reeds or other

1 Vide n. in S.B.E. 43, 348, re Sat. Brā. X, 4, 2, 19 (cf. Keith, Ait. Āraṇ. 37).

2 Av. VI, 138, 5. It is noteworthy that in Tāmil 'kacci'=reeds or stalks, and 'pā' means mat; so that 'kacci-pā' represents the original of this 'kaśipu'; (cf. also 'kacci'=creeper and cocoanut-shell fibres, and 'kaccu'=fibre—or grass-ropes, with which cf. vern. 'kāchi').

3 Vāja. Sam. XXX, 16; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 12, 1.

4 Taitt. Sam. V, 3, 12, 2; cf. Sat. Brā. XIII, 3, 1, 3.

5 Rv. X, 100, 10; Taitt. Āraṇ. VI, 9, 1.

6 Av. VI, 138, 5; 'naḍa' growing in lakes and in rainy season; Rv. VIII, 1, 33; Av. IV, 19, 1; ('naḍa' is frequent in Av., Yv., Brā. and Āraṇ.). Cf. note 7.

7 Vāj. Sam. XXX, 8; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 5, 1.

8 'Thorns' (vide V.I., I, 133) could scarcely have been made into cushions and used to plait mats. (The use of cactus fibres for weaving or similar purposes is indigenous in many isolated districts, even to-day).

9 Av. V, 7, 10 (as an adj. used of 'Arāti' conceived of as a gorgeous woman or a courtesan, with golden mantle (drāpi), etc.); also in Taitt. Brā. III, 9, 20, 1; Ait. Brā. VII, 18, 12; Sat. Brā. XIII, 4, 3, 1. (It is not necessary to suppose another 'cloth of gold' spread over the 'kaśipu,' which itself could be 'golden' in the above sense).

10 Sat. Brā. XIII, 4, 3, 1; acc. to the comm. it was a golden stool with feet, having a 'kūrcā'-like pad over it ('pīṭham kūrcākṛti,' which might also mean 'a wooden seat, carved or painted, by 'ālpanā,' so as to resemble a 'kūrcā,' i.e., in view of suitability to ritual).

11 Except probably the 'sadas' of the 'sadasya' (vide ante), which may have been a raised seat of some sacred wood; but the occurrence is not very early, and the 17th priest was rather

products of riparian lowlands, where alone the industries alluded to could have flourished¹ in that early age. A characteristically Gangetic outfit would thus seem to have been the stock with which the 'brāhmaṇ' ritualism started.

But 'beds,' 'couches for reclining,' and other 'seats,' which had little connection with the sacrificial ritual, are of woodwork principally. Thus the 'pīṭha' (alluded to in the mention of the 'pīṭhasarpin'² cripple) was evidently a wooden seat; and like its later representative 'pīḍi' ('pīḍhā,' etc.),³ it must have been a low, rectangular, polished seat (sometimes carved, and oftener painted with designs). The 'talpa' is made of 'udumbara' wood⁴ (heavy and strong),⁵ with four feet and four frame-pieces ('uṣyala') 'fashioned by Tvaṣṭar' (i.e. carved and moulded by skilled carpenters), and with embroidered and inlaid ('piś') 'vardhras' (straps of leather, etc.) in the middle of it.⁶ The 'proṣṭha' is clearly wooden,⁷ and the 'vahya' at least partly so.⁸ So also the 'āsandi,' which the Vṛātya chief uses, is a comfortable chair of wooden framework⁹ with adjuncts of diverse other materials; and the 'āsandi' for the King in the ritual is

unusual; besides 'sadas' is elsewhere a 'domestic' furniture, kept in the 'agnisāla,' probably the usual seat in the hall of a dwelling-house (cf. Śat. Brā. XIV, 3, 1, 8). 'Pīṭha' (wooden) is not directly connected with ritual till the time of the Sūtras, though they are known much earlier (vide infra. and n. 10, p. 48; (an 'udumbara' stool is used in Śāṅkh. Araṇ: (Keith: x) by the Udgātr in the Mahāvratā).

- 1 As they flourish at the present day, in the Gangetic districts of Bihār and Bengal, where these crafts have almost become arts, with an ancient tradition.
- 2 Vāja. Sam. XXX, 21; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 17, 1.
- 3 This is a characteristically Eastern furniture, and the linear designs painted on it (the famous 'ālpānā') are also of Eastern origin and development. (The word 'pīṭha' may be a Sanskritised pre-Āryan one). (The 'ālpānā' would explain how the surface of the King's golden 'pīṭha' (vide n. 10, p. 48) could be made to look like a seat of 'kūrca').
- 4 Taitt. Brā. I, 2, 6, 5.
- 5 That is the reason the Brāhmaṇas give for its employment in the King's seat 'āsandi': but it is more of a reason to connect the use of 'udumbara' for the secular 'āsandi' and 'talpa' with the fact that this wood is indigenous to the sub-Himālayan tracts. So also, other 'āsandi's (e.g. of the Bharatas) are made of 'khadira' wood, also indigenous to the same region: with this is to be compared what has been said above re a Middle-Himālayan 'timber' style as opposed to the primarily 'brāhmaṇic' 'bamboo' style.
- 6 Av. XIV, 1, 60: the descr. is understood of the 'talpa' by Kaus. 76, 25, probably correctly; it does not apply very well to the bridal 'car' in the next verse (though usually taken in that way).
- 7 Cf. the descriptive epithet 'proṣṭha-pāda' (a name in Jaim. Upan. Brā.). Cf. also the corr. vern. form 'paiṭhā,' a wooden bench, a broad plank resting on two legs or two vertical planks, specially used of the rowers' benches in the Gangetic river-boats.
- 8 Vide infra.
- 9 E.g. in Av. XV, 3, 2ff.

similar¹; but here the woodwork, etc., seem to have been gradually replaced with or supplemented by grass, reed, or cane-work,² in conformity with ritual tradition.³

The 'beds' or 'couches' mentioned, all belong to the equipment of the inner apartments of a house, being connected with women. 'Talpa'⁴ is apparently the 'nuptial' bedstead,⁵ used by married pairs only, as the special use of the word in 'tālpya'⁶ ('legitimate son,' being born in the nuptial bed) and 'guru-talpa,'⁷ and its being made of the sacred 'udumbara,' indicates. Some women in a big house ('harmya') are described as 'proṣṭha-śaya,'⁸ reclining on a 'proṣṭha,' where something like a high and broad bench may be meant, as elsewhere,⁹ being distinguished from 'talpa' and 'vahiya'; apparently it had strong moulded and turned legs, for 'proṣṭha-pāda' was a proper name.¹⁰ It seems probable that such long timber seats were fixed against the walls,¹¹ or were combinations of a settee and a coffer; thus a coffer ('kośa') with a pillow¹² is sent along with the bride when she goes to her husband's home: such marriage-coffers evidently could be used as couch or bed¹³; and it is noteworthy that both these types of 'bed' are found in the inner apartments of the middle-Himālayan villager's dwelling-house.¹⁴

1 E.g. in Ait. Brā. VIII, 5; 6; 12.

2 E.g. in Sat. Brā. XII, 8, 3, 4ff; XIV, 1, 3, 8ff; VI, 7, 1, 12ff.

3 "Because reed-grass is meet for sacrifice": Sat. Brā. XII, 8, 3, 4-10; XIV, 1, 3, 8ff; the process of 'brāhmanization' is clearly indicated by the direction in Sat. Brā. III, 3, 4, 31, where all the 'human' particulars of the 'āsandi' are forbidden to be imitated in the 'ritual' 'āsandi.'

4 Rv. VII, 55, 8=Av. IV, 5, 3 (vide infra. for sense of 'talpa' here); Av. V, 7, 12 (king and his wife's); XIV, 2, 31.41 (bridal); Taitt. Sam. VI, 2, 6, 4; Taitt. Brā. II, 2, 5, 3; Pāñc. Brā. XXIII, 4, 2; XXV, 1, 10.

5 Corresponding to the 'viyer khāt' of Bengal, to which a peculiar sanctity and significance is attached, and which may only be used by the married pair who first used it.

6 Sat. Brā. XIII, 1, 6, 2.

7 Chānd. Upan. V, 10, 9.

8 Rv. VII, 55, 8=Av. IV, 5, 3.

9 Taitt Brā. II, 7, 17, 1.

10 Cf. n. 7, p. 49.

11 So that the 'proṣṭha' having two 'pādas' only (cf. n. 7, p. 49) would afford a parallel for men's legs.

12 Av. XIV, 1, 6.

13 Cf. the mediæval Germanic marriage-coffers (of woodwork), which are very much like the combined bed and coffer of the Himālayan houses.

14 E.g. in the timber-built houses of the Simla Hill States, where these are used by women-folk for naps between work, or as regular beds.

'Vahya'¹ is a couch of a comfortable kind, used by women; the name suggests a light structure, that could be carried about when necessary, so that it would seem to have been a canopied reclining arm-chair, with poles or handles for carriers.² But a 'vahya,' 'bearing all forms' (i.e. of carved wood-work), and with a gold-embroidered coverlet ('rukma-prastaraṇa'), is the bed on which the bride mounts and lies with her groom in the marriage-ritual.³ This seems to be referred to in the next 'mantra' as the 'talpa' of the pair⁴; and after the consummation the 'demons' of this 'talpa'⁵ are got rid of by the priest. Thus the bridal 'vahya' would be something more than a mere litter or sedan-chair,—a regular bedstead, capacious enough for two; so that 'vahya' might be taken to signify the bed carried along with the bride⁶ to her new home as part of her dowry.⁷ But this again is rendered uncertain by a following consummation-'mantra,' which shows that during the ceremony the couple had also lain together on an 'āsandī'⁸ (settee), with cushion and coverlet⁹; this 'āsandī' cannot have been a full bed.¹⁰ So the bridal 'vahya' need not be taken as identical with the 'talpa' mentioned in the same connection; and it would rather appear that the 'vahya,' 'talpa,' and 'āsandī,' were

1 Rv. VII, 55, 8=Av. IV, 5, 3 (women sleeping on it); Av. IV, 20, 3 (weary bride mounting it); XIV, 2, 30 (used in marriage ceremony).

2 Something like the modern 'dāṇḍī' of the lower Himālayas or 'ḍulī' of the plains, also used by women mostly.

3 Av. XIV, 2, 30.

4 Av. XIV, 2, 31.

5 Av. XIV, 2, 41.

6 It would of course be something distinct from the "'kośa' and pillow" similarly sent with her (see above).

7 Cf. the same custom nowadays. (For 'vah' in the sense of 'bringing dowry, etc., along with one,' cf. a King's wife called 'Sataavāhi': Av. V, 17, 11.

8 Av. XIV, 2, 65.

9 Or the 'upadhāna' and 'upavāsana' might refer to the already used 'talpa' and covered 'vahya' respectively (vide ante); 'upavāsana' might also refer to the dress of the bride herself. In any case, the 'vahya,' 'talpa' and 'āsandī' are all used by the couple.

10 Elsewhere in Av. and in Ait. and Sat. Brās., 'āsandī' is a throne or throne-like seat (vide infra); but once in Sat. Brā. (vide infra) and in Buddhist texts (cf. Digha Nikāya, II, 23) it is said to be carried by 4 men (implying a longish reclining chair); and 'āsandī' in Hāla is later on glossed by 'paryāṅkikā' and 'khaṭvā,' * pointing to a long couch; but in earlier literature 'āsandī' is definitely a 'seat,' and it is rather the 'vahya' which corresponds to a 'long reclining couch.'

* (Quoted in Whitney and Lanman, Trans. Av.); the 'paryāṅkikā' is comparable to the 'pratisāyikā' of Vāts. Kā. Sūt.; 'khaṭvā' is a light, narrow, cord-or strap-woven bed.

three essential items of furniture for the bridal chamber.¹ So also, the 'vahya' is specially associated with the bride, as shown by the incidental simile: "like a tired bride ascending the 'vahya,'"—evidently referring to the above marriage ritual. Thus the apparently obscure distinctions made in Rv. VII, 55, 8, become clear: it refers to married women occupying their commodious 'talpas,' the new bride (or prospective brides, one of whom is sought to be approached secretly) on the fashionable 'vahya,' and other single women of the household on the sterner 'proṣṭhas,' within the 'harmya' or big family-home. 'Sayana'³ is a general term for bed or couch, with no particular features, except softness and association with women.

A number of details are given about the 'āsandī' (and the 'paryāṅka'): apparently because furniture of this type was not common in the ordinary priest's dwelling-house, and originated with the ruling nobility,⁴ though in their ritualized and modified form (reed-covered and clay-daubed),⁵ these must have been subsequently used by brāhmaṇs also.⁶

'Āsandi,' literally,⁷ is a generic term for seat of some

- 1 Another item would be the 'kośa' and pillow brought by the bride; the red ox-hide spread over strewn 'balbaja' (rush), on which the bride sits, is part of the *ritual* requisites (Av. XIV, 2, 22-24).
- 2 Av. IV, 20, 3.
- 3 Av. III, 25, 1 (of a beloved woman, a maiden; 'ut-tuda' is an unexplained word in this verse; can it mean 'silk' or 'silken coverlet' of the maiden's 'sayana,'—from 'tuda' = mulberry leaves (i.e., sprung from 'tuda')? The meaning would then be, "let the silken coverlet on thy bed, pain ('tud'') thee," etc., 'involving a pun on tuda'). Also Śat Brā. XI, 5, 1, 2 (Purūravas and Urvāśī's couch); ibid. 7, 4 (soft couch of a Vedic student); Av. V, 29, 8.
- 4 Thus the 'āsandī' is called the 'navel' and 'womb' of 'rājanyas,' and is always specially characteristic of the ruling chief. (Even to-day 'pālaṅg' (or 'pālaṅka') is more aristocratic than 'khaṭ' ('khaṭvā').
- 5 Vide *infra*.
- 6 Thus, such a seat, with cushion, is prescribed as 'fee' after funeral rites: Śat. Brā. XIII, 8, 4, 10.
- 7 'Āsandi' should properly mean either a 'brilliant seated person' or a 'shining seat,' i.e., a throne as well as an enthroned prince (this sense is perhaps also implied in the name of the Kuru capital 'Āsandi-vant'; vide *ante*). 'Di' in 'āsandi' is indicative of lustre or prominence; or perhaps 'andi' may be an early Sanskrit suffix indicative of prominent and ever-present features; cf. words similarly formed: 'vāsandī' (domiciled), corrupted into colloq. vern. 'vāsunde'; 'bhūṣandī' (gaudily, uncouthly dressed), corr. into colloq. vern. 'bhusuṇḍī'; 'kalandi' (rippling), changed into 'kāliṇḍī,' a river name. It seems likely that Āsandhimitrā, q. of Aśoka, was so designated being 'mitrā' or consort on the 'āsandī' or throne,—'Āsandi-mitrā' being the regal title.

fine sort, but from its first mention onwards, a special type¹ of seat is almost always implied by it; the type varies in different references, but the earlier and more usual form² is something like a comfortable 'gadi' (equivalent to a throne), that might be used by the ruling aristocracy or on special occasions by other people; a secondary and modified form³ is that adopted in ritual, where a king is concerned, or where a deity is conceived of as a king; still later is the form more or less approaching a bed, referred to in Pāli and early Prākṛt literature.⁴

The 'āsandi' is first referred to in Av., and in connection with the inauguration of 'the Vrātya' for whom it is brought together⁵; and as the origin of royalty is there ascribed to this idealized event,⁶ it would appear that the Atharvanic tradition regarded the first kings as 'Vrātyas' (in all likelihood Easterners)⁷ and the 'āsandi' as the royal seat specially associated with them.⁷ It is to be noted here that 'āsandi' does not occur in Rv.,⁸ though allusions to things 'regal' are not altogether wanting in it; the force of this point, however, is weakened by the references in the Brāhmaṇas to an 'āsandi' "like those of the Bharatas,"⁹ a 'Rgvedic' midland dynasty, and to an older 'gāthā' mentioning 'Asandivant,' the capital of Janamejaya-Pāriṣita I of the same race.¹⁰ Thus the

1 This comes out clearly from the comparative summary of descriptions given infra.

2 From Av. onwards.

3 Particularly in the Brāhmaṇas.

4 Vide n. 10, p. 51. (The 'āsandi' probably was displaced by the subsequent 'paryāṅka' (vide infra) and the 'simhāsana'; it is not referred to after the 1st century A.D.; it is possible that the latter correctly represents the earlier 'āsandi' which was a 'vyāghrāsana' (with tiger-skin spread neck in front): i.e., the Eastern and Gangetic style of 'throne' was modified by contact with West Indian conditions, the 'tiger' symbolism being replaced by a 'lion' one; vide next para. and notes 9 and 10 below).

5 Av. XV, 3, 2ff.

6 The emphatic view of the Av. about the 'vrātya' origin of kingship and priesthood, and the great political power and prestige of the 'vrātya,' finds complete support from the Purāṇic tradition regarding them, and seems to be only a priestly and mystic version of accepted and known facts of that tradition: the 'vrātyas' corresponding to the non-Ailas. The 'vrātya' hymns can be much better explained by this reasonable hypothesis, than by supposing that the 'vrātya' is a wandering 'sādhu' or a pretentious 'śaiva' mendicant, or a personification of Brahman.

7 See n. 6 above.

8 But 'upavarhaṇa' (and 'ṇi) and 'upastarapa' are known to Rv., and these were particularly connected with 'āsandi'; cf. Rv. X, 85, 7; IX, 69, 5.

9 Sat. Brā. V. 4, 4, 1ff. The Bharatas were however much influenced by the Angirāsas, acc. to Purāṇic tradition.

10 Ait. Brā. VIII, 21. This king is placed by Purāṇic tradition about 20 steps before the close of the Rgvedic period.

'vrātya' (Eastern) emblem of royalty (as known to the Āngirasas) would appear to have early been adopted by Midland rulers also. The same original connection with Atharvānic tradition is probably indicated by the use of the 'āsandī' in the Av. marriage-ceremonial,¹ and its absence in that of the Rv.

The 'paryāṅka' is a later development, being first mentioned and described in the later Vedic texts²; it is a magnified 'āsandī,' and like it associated with regal style and opulence, rather approaching a bedstead, but yet used for sitting only; so also, later on, 'āsandīā' is taken to mean 'paryāṅkikā,' a smaller 'paryāṅka.'³

The general type of these 'high class' seats comes out sufficiently clearly from a comparative summary of descriptions in the texts: (i) In Av.: (a)⁴ The Vrātya chief's 'āsandī': framework of wood and cording or straps; 2 (fore) feet, 2 (back) feet⁵; 2 lengthwise and 2 crosswise pieces; forward and cross 'tantu's (rather 'woven' straps, than 'cords'); and 'upaśraya,' the support or back of the seat; adjuncts: 'āstarāṇa,' coverlet; 'āsāda,' seat proper (i.e. the cushion for sitting on); and 'upavarhāṇa,' cushion for leaning against. (b)⁶ The bridal 'āsandī': the framework is not described; it may have been a bed-like reclining couch,⁷ but the supposition is not essential⁸; adjuncts: not clearly defined; the 'upadhāṇa' (pillow), and 'upavāṣana' (covering cloth) may or may not belong to it.⁹

(ii) In Yv. Samhitās¹⁰: though often mentioned, descriptions are rare¹¹; here also, the 'āsandī' is specially associated with kingship or imperial rank,¹² and secondarily

1 Av. XIV, 2, 65. The Rgvedic marriage ceremonial (in its last book) is only a 'selection' from the Atharvavedic one, which must be very much older and traditional.

2 Kauṣ. Upan. I, 5. Cf. Jaim. Brā. II, 24; and Sāṅkh. Āraṇ. iii.

3 Vide n. 10, p. 51.

4 Av. XV, 3, 2 ff.

5 This distinguishing of feet probably points to a rectangular frame.

6 Av. XIV, 2, 65.

7 So as to suit the marriage ritual better.

8 Thus, the use of capacious 'throne-seats' for the newly married pair in Indian ceremonial is traditional.

9 Vide n. 9, p. 51.

10 Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 8, 5; Vāja. Sam. VIII, 56; XIX, 16; 86; etc.

11 Skin cover and smooth and pleasant seat: Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 16.

12 E.g. Vāja. Sam. XIX, 86, where the 'āsandī' is regarded as a 'mother,' i.e. the 'womb of rājanyas' (as elsewhere, e.g. Vāja. Sam. XX, 1).

with gods,¹ while its use in ritual by a sacrificing priest² ensures 'sāmrajya' for his client; but elsewhere the qualificatory term 'rājāsandi'³ shows that humbler 'āsandi's' were in use amongst other people at the same time.

(iii) In the Brāhmaṇas: (a) In the Aitareya: the King's 'āsandi' adapted for use at consecration and other 'regal' ceremonials:—(a)⁴ Quite a small seat (evidently for temporary use during ritual); framework of 'udumbara' wood; the feet a span high; the 'head-' and cross-pieces each a cubit (i.e., a 'square' type)⁵; the interwoven part ('vivayana') of plaited 'muñja' reed; adjunct: 'āstarāṇa,' spread, being a tiger-skin, placed neck in front (so that the long skin would cover both the (śiṛṣanya' and the seat proper). (b)⁶ Framework the same (of 'udumbara' and with 'śiṛṣanya'); but the specification of front feet and back feet shows a 'rectangular' type (with probably differently moulded pairs of legs); and the lengthwise cords and cross-ties are apparently run through holes⁷ in the frame-pieces; adjunct: 'upavarhaṇa,' back cushion. (c)⁸ Another description: same framework and other details, as in (b). (b) In the Śatapatha: (a)⁹ 'Asandi' "like that of the Bharatas," and specially a 'rājanya' seat (being the 'womb' of that class):—a high seat above the level of low seats of surrounding subjects; made of 'khadira' wood, perforated ('vitṛṇṇā), and

1 E.g. Vāja. Sam. VIII, 56, the seat of Varuṇa (conceived of usually as a great King).

2 Taitt. Sam. VII, 5, 8, 5. Two other seats are used at the same time, the 'kūrca' and the 'pleṅkhā,' which last can hardly have been an ordinary 'swing.' (In the Mahāvratā ceremonial (as in Sāṅkh. Arāṇ.), the 'swing' is set up on timber-posts no doubt, but is used only as a 'seat'). The comm. gives 'dolā' as its meaning; in vern. 'dolā' is the same as 'ḍulī,' a sort of carrying chair, which does swing; 'dolā' and 'ḍulī' are used indifferently in Bengali. The sense of a 'rocking chair' is however admissible. The comm. here glosses 'āsandi' by 'khatvākārā,' '4-legged, and high.

3 Vāja. Sam. XIX, 16.

4 Ait. Brā. VIII, 5 and 6. (The seat is mounted with the right knee first, then the left, approaching from behind and taking hold of it by both hands).

5 Cf. the modern 'khātli' or 'cārpai' of Upper India, characterized by the same span and cubit measurements and square type, with 4 moulded and painted legs, and the 'seat' of stretched woven straps.

6 Ait. Brā. VIII, 12.

7 This shows acquaintance with cane-woven seats; thus there were two main types of 'seats' in these 'āsandis,' with cane (or equivalent) run and woven through holes in frames, or broad straps (leathern or woven stuff) wound over and across the frames.

8 Ait. Brā. VIII, 17.

9 Śat. Brā. V, 4, 4, 1ff.

joined with straps ('vardhra'), pleasant and soft-seated, and placed on a tiger-skin. (b)¹ The 'imperial' and 'kṣatra' 'āsandī' adapted for sacrificial ritual: made of 'udumbara' wood; knee high; of great width and depth; covered with plaited reedwork, because reed-grass is meet for sacrifice, and for the same reason, the 'spread' is a black antelope-skin.² (c)³ 'Āsandī' of the 'samrāj,' similarly adapted: of 'udumbara,' and shoulder-high (as compared with the rāja's navel-high 'āsandī')⁴; wound all over with cords of rush ('balbaja') owing to ritual mystic significance. (d)⁵ 'Āsandī' used in pure sacrificial rites: of 'udumbara'; a span high; a cubit in width and depth (i.e. of a 'square' type); covered with reed-grass cords, and daubed with clay as well. (e)⁶ 'Āsandī,' said to be also called 'ṛta-sadanī' (throne of justice), ascribed to a deity in ritual: of 'udumbara'; navel-high; to be taken up by 4 men, instead of 2 who ordinarily take up the King's 'āsandī,' many details of which are explicitly stated to have been dropped or modified, as "human elements are to be eschewed as far as possible in sacrifices."

(iv) In Sāṅkh. Āraṇ. and Kauṣ. Upan.⁷: (a) Brahman's 'far-shining' 'āsandī' (in an extensive hall, of an invincible abode, in a city): 2 fore feet, 2 hind feet, 2 lengthwise and 2 cross pieces. This is evidently regarded as a smaller and minor seat beside the 'paryāṅka' next described. (b) 'Paryāṅka' of 'unmeasured splendour': same arrangement of feet and frame, and straps ('tantu') stretched lengthwise and crosswise; with 'śiṛṣanya' ('head-piece' of the couch), 'upaśrī' (the supporting 'back' of the couch), 'upavarhaṇa' and 'uc-chirṣaka' (cushion and pillow for the head); thereon 'Brahman' sits.

1 Sat. Brā. XII, 8, 3, 4-10.

2 Cf. 'āsandī' of 'udumbara' with spread of goat-skin: Sat. Brā. V, 2, 1, 22.

3 Sat. Brā. XIV, 1, 3, 8 ff.

4 Sat. Brā. III, 3, 4, 26 ff.

5 Sat. Brā. VI, 7, 1, 12 ff.

6 Sat. Brā. III, 3, 4, 26 ff.

7 Kauṣ. Upan. I, 5; Sāṅkh. Āraṇ. III; (cf. Jaim. Brā. II, 24).

DRESS AND COSTUMES.

Though the Vedic references to the materials and manners of dressing, etc., are few, yet incidentally they throw much side light on contemporary social conditions. Thus a quite evident feature is a considerable variety in these materials and manners, which can only have developed with different regional conditions and tribal customs and tastes: so that any general reconstruction of one typical Vedic or Indo-Āryan dress, etc., from those references, would be more imaginary than scientific.

Skins form one class of 'Vedic' clothing material. The Maruts are dressed in deer-skins,¹ and the gods alarm the enemies with coats or shields of such skins ('*hariṇasyājīnena*')²; 'muni's wear brown and tanned skins ('*piśāṅgā malā*')³; and skins of black antelopes are in common and traditional ritual use in the Av. and Yv.⁴ It is noteworthy that none but 'gods' and brāhmaṇs use skins: the only exceptions being the Vrātya chieftains and their followers, who have an improved style of wearing twofold ('*dvisamphītāni*') 'ajina's, one black and one white ('*kṛṣṇa-valakṣa*'), so as to form fur-lined skin-wraps,⁵ and the aboriginal forest tribes (evidently Kolārian) who wore 'kṛtti's (and 'dūrśa') at dances,⁶ and used 'ajina's.⁷ Again, it is the goatskin ('ajina') that is primarily and mainly used (all other skins being called 'ajina'),—other varieties⁸ being the skins of the 'kṛṣṇa' (black antelope) and the 'hariṇa' and 'eta' (spotted deer); but no sheep-skins, camel-skins, etc., are mentioned as worn or otherwise used.⁹ On the other hand,

1 Rv. I, 166, 10; of the 'eta' or spotted deer, hung from the shoulders.

2 Av. V, 21, 7.

3 Rv. X, 136, 2. Cf. the brāhmaṇ priest going clad in 'ajina' (goat-skin) according to ritual custom, Sat. Brā. III, 9, 1, 12. (*Re* tanning, in Rv. and later, vide V.I., I, 257; *re* the furrier's trade: cf. Vāja. Sam. XXX, 15; Taitt. Brā. III, 2, 13, 1; the skins worn must have been properly dressed).

4 Vide V.I., I, 185; and of goatskins: cf. Sat. Brā. III, 9, 1, 12; V, 2, 1, 21.24 (*ajaraśabhasya ajinaṃ*).

5 Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1-15; cf. Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XII, 1; XXII, 4; Lāt. Śr. Sūt. VIII, 6; Āpast. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 5, 4-14.

6 Av. VIII, 6, 11.

7 Av. IV, 7, 6.

8 For other purposes the skins of boars (and antelopes) were used for shoes, and of tigers for seat-spreads; rhinoceros hides for chariots; red cow-hides for ritual seats and war-drums.

9 Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13 ff. may point to a tradition of wearing cow-hides in primitive ages; 'āvika' in Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 4, seems to mean sheep-skin, but it is evidently a late addition of Sūtra period, not being found in the corresponding older passage in Pañc. Brā. XVII, 14-16.

the texts know of the primitive riparian clothing material of grass: the 'kuśa,' skirt (round hips only) which the sacrificer's wife has to wear over her ordinary dress,¹ is evidently a relic of the prehistoric grass garment; with this may be compared the common ritual use of grass girdles, 'śāṇī' or 'mauñjī,' first invented by Āṅgirasas.² These facts can only signify that this specially brāhmanical and ritual, Vratya and aboriginal, use of certain varieties of skins and grass-reeds as clothing, arose in the Eastern Gangetic country amongst early indigenous peoples,³ and is not part of any extra-Indian North-Western outfit that Aryan immigrants from Central Asia might be supposed to have brought with them.

Another material for clothing was wool (ūṛṇā). The late occurrence of 'āvika,'⁴ sheep's wool, shows that the first source of wool in Vedic India was the goat, just as the first skins worn were goat-skins⁵; 'ūṛṇā,' also, primarily means 'hairy covering' of any animal,⁶ though the 'ūṛṇā' of the Paruṣṇī, etc., must refer to sheep's wool.⁷ So also, there is little indication of the divine or traditional use, or ritual sanctity, of sheep's wool (or indeed of any wool): where Pūṣan is called a 'vāso-vāya' weaving 'sheep's cloth,'⁸ the obvious implication is that the ordinary and traditional weaver's product was not such 'sheep's cloth' but cloth of other materials, and that it is therefore no reference to the antiquity of woollens, but rather a glorification of the wool-grower's activities beside those of the traditional 'cloth-weaver'; where, again, the Maruts are said to tarry on the Paruṣṇī, putting on purified (dyed or bleached) woollens,⁹ it is a plain compliment paid to a contemporary flourishing Punjāb wool industry that may have struck the fancy of the poet; the 'soma'-strainer is woollen, but it may well have been originally of goat-hair; the 'pāṇḍva,' worn by kings (kṣatras)

1 Sat. Brā. V, 2, 1, 8.

2 Cf. Sat. Brā. III, 2, 1, 10-11 (mekhalā 'of 'śāṇī,' of three cords inter-twined with 'muñja,' plaited like hair, and as soft as 'ūṛṇā').

3 For all the animals concerned belong to East North-India, particularly the lower Gangetic provinces: while sheep-skins, etc., are specially North-Western; the Vratyas and the aborigines referred to are clearly Magadhan from the context; brāhman ritualism (which is mainly Āṅgirasas) is itself originally Gangetic, as we have seen elsewhere.

4 Bṛhad. Upan. II, 3, 6; 'āvika' in Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 4, means sheepskins, apparently a much later substitute or alternative to the 'ajina' of the corresponding older passage in Pañc. Brā. XVII, 14-16.

5 Vide ante.

6 Cf. spider's web and human hair so called. The primary sense of covering has survived in modern 'orṇā' veil, and 'urupī,' scarf, both of cotton or silk.

7 For those regions were pre-eminently suited for sheep-pastures.

8 Rv. X, 26, 6.

9 Rv. V, 52, 9.

at sacrifices¹ may be simply an unbleached or dyed cotton or silken stuff,² and not a woollen garment at all. The use of sheep's wool, then, was not prehistoric, and was almost wholly secular, 'as covering (second skin) for men and their beasts.'³ Even so, it does not seem to have been in general use. In the Av., 'kambala's (blankets)⁴ and 'sāmulya's⁵ (undergarments of wool?) are part of the ordinary domestic outfit of men and women; but the 'sāmulya' may have been of 'silk-cotton wool,'⁶ and the 'kambala' of other animal fur or hair as well.⁷ All the more direct references to sheep-farming and woollens pertain to the North-Western corner of India only,⁸ where evidently it was the staple industry and a monopoly. Thus the Indus region was 'suvāsā ūrṇāvati,' 'woolly' and producing fine clothing stuff⁹; the softest wool was of the ewes of the Gāndhārāns¹⁰; Paruṣṇī, also, was 'woolly' and produced bleached or dyed woollens ('śundhyavaḥ').¹¹ It is to be noted that while Paruṣṇī wool is mentioned in comparatively earlier passages, those mentioning Sindhu and Gāndhāra wool (further west) are later.

1 Sat. Brā. V, 3, 5, 21. Mait. Sam. IV, 4, 3. (pāṇḍaram).

2 Probably 'gairika' or 'geruā,' of later times, just as the 'tāryya' mentioned in the same connection seems to represent the 'tasar,' sacred to ritual; or it may represent the later 'garad' which is pale cream coloured, and goes together with 'tasar.'

3 Vāja. Sam. XIII, 50.

4 Av. XIV, 2, 66.67.

5 Rv. X, 35, 29=Av. XIV, 1, 25.

6 Or 'sālmaliya': i.e. vests, robes, or wrapper, of light cotton padding (like what are ordinarily used even now); probably 'sāmulya' refers only to a light quilt of cotton-wool, used in the bridal bed (cf. the 'kambala' of the bride-woolers). 'S (S) āmūla' occurs elsewhere also: Jaim. Upan. Brā. I, 38, 4; Lāṭ. Sr. Sūt. IX, 4, 7; Kauś. Sūt. LXIX, 3. In the mod. Tāmil 'semmari' =ewe, is probably the original of 'sālmali' to be recognised; cf. Tāmil 'simbuli'=rough cloth, with which cf. the vern. form 's(s)imul(a)'. Vern. 'sāmlā' is a kind of narrow shawl (for tying round the head or waist); it also means the embroidered end of a turban or 'kamarband,' tucked or hanging in folds; the word is usually derived from Arabic 'shamlat,' from a root=to include; but more probably it is an Urduised form of the indigenous 'sāmūla,' which would seem to be the original of the famous 'shawl'; cf. the variant Vedic form, 'śābalya.'

7 E.g. of goats and bears (it is curious that in vern. proverbs and folk-lore the 'kambala' is made of 'loma,' hair, and is identified with bear-skin. Cf. Tāmil, 'kamb (p) ali'=rough hair-cloth; also 'simbuli'; and 'kuṇṇu-bādu'=hairy, fleecy. Cf. the Rv. form 'sāmbalam' for 'sālmali': Rv. III, 54, 22).

8 Industrial traditions are remarkably persistent in India: even now, Ludhiānā, Dhāriwāl, Amritsar, Lahore, Peshāwar and Kābul, with their typical woollen manufactures, carry on the traditions of the Paruṣṇī-Gāndhāra area.

9 Rv. X, 75, 8.

10 Rv. I, 126, 7.

11 Rv. IV, 22, 2; V, 52, 9; the river was so named from being in a wool district.

All these Vedic facts regarding wool become fully intelligible when referred to some of the main facts of traditional history¹: this knows of no Āryan expansion eastwards from Afghanistan, but, according to it, the Ailas (and some Mānvas)² progressed from East to West, from the Gangetic country to the Punjāb and beyond, in gradual and well-marked stages; hence there is no indication of an ancient use of sheepskin or sheep's wool in the Vedic texts; as the Punjāb came to be colonized, a specialized wool industry naturally developed; but there is no mention of sheepskins, for the skin-wearing stage had long been left behind, and the traditional vāso-vāya's craft was simply transferred from one material to another³; thus, again, the Paruṣṇī wool came to be known first to interior India, and then the Indus and Gāndhāra products; the nature of the complimentary references in the above passages also becomes clear: a Midland ṛṣi aptly apprehends that the attractions of the flourishing wool-district of the Paruṣṇī may have detained his gods; the high-flown praise of the Indus with its wool manufactures (to the exclusion of other rivers and their products) best suits a ṛṣi from the old country of Madhyadeśa in ecstasies over his visit to the younger and developing Punjāb settlements; and the simile drawn from Gāndhāra ewes betrays a non-Gāndhāran appreciation of their soft fleeces.

Silk is more common in Vedic ritual use than woollens. Thus the 'vāsas' of 'tārpya',⁴ some sort of silk,⁵ with which a dead body is clothed in order that the departed may go about properly dressed in Yama's realm,⁶ was evidently an ancient traditional item of clothing; 'kṣauma,' another variety of silk, is found early and often in ritual use⁷; and

1 Cf. Pargiter: *AIHT*. chap. XXV.

2 The Dhārṣṭas and Nārīṣyanta Śakas were the first to settle in the Punjāb; after them came the Ailas, in two main groups, Druhyus and Ānavas.

3 Just as timber and bamboo styles of architecture were gradually transferred to stone.

4 *Av.* XVIII, 4, 31; *Taitt. Sam.* II, 4, 11, 6; *Mait. Sam.* IV, 4, 3; *Taitt. Brā.* I, 3, 7, 1; 7, 6, 4; *Sat. Brā.* V, 3, 5, 20 (worn by kings at sacrifices; the 'rūpāni nisyūtāni' on it show that it was something like mod. 'kasidā' work on 'tasar').

5 Most probably the sacred 'tasar,' a rough silk, the traditional product of E. Bihār. If the comm. has any basis for its explanation, 'made from Tṛpa or Tripaṇā leaves,' these would refer to mulberry or other leaves suitable for silk-cocoons. (A variety of 'tasar' (prob. = Chin. 'tsau' and Burm. 'tsa') produced in Bengal and Bihār is called 'jārvo' or 'jāru'; the habitat of 'tasar' is N.E. Deccan continued into Bengal and Bihār, and its hereditary growers are the Sāntāls, with whom it is a superstition and of religious and mystic significance; cf. Watt: *Comm. Prod. of Ind.*, p. 1003 ff.)

6 *Av.* XVIII, 4, 31.

7 *Mait. Sam.* III, 6, 7; *Taitt. Sam.* VI, 1, 1, 3; etc.; also in *Sūtras*.

even saffron-coloured silken garments ('kausumbha-paridhāna')¹ were sacred. This comparative position of silk further explains and supports what has been said above. So also, garments made of bark (so frequent in later literature) are very rarely mentioned in Vedic texts: and such and similar use of bark is more or less characteristic of the N. W. Himālayas; probably the 'barāsi'² of Kāth. Sam. was a barked stuff.³

References to weaving are very common from the Rv. onwards; 'vāya,' weaver, occurs often in Rv., as also various uses of the root 'vā.'⁴ The special term 'vāso-vāya'⁵ shows that other 'vāyas' had already arisen, who produced sundry piece-goods, other than the standard 'vāsas' or wearing cloth⁶; besides, there were the female weavers, 'vayitrī's' and 'sirī's',⁸ from very early times.⁹ Technical terms connected with weaving,—like 'otu' (woof, web),¹⁰ 'tantu' (yarn, threads or other filaments),¹¹ 'tantra' (warp, or loom),¹² 'prācīnātāna' (forward-stretched web),¹³—are already of frequent application in the Vedic texts; the 'veman' (loom)

¹ Śāṅkh. Aran. XI, 4.

² Kāth. Sam. XV, 4; Pañc. Brā. XVIII, 9, 6; XXI, 3, 4; the Kāthakas were North-Western and sub-Himālayan; in these regions the Barāsi tree (a red-flowered rhododendron) is still fabled to yield cloths.

³ Or is 'barāsi' after all a variety of cotton? cf. 'bairāti' as such a variety known to Dacca weavers (vide Watt: Comm. Prod. of Ind., s.v. Cotton).

⁴ Vide V.I., s.v. 'vāya' and 'otu.'

⁵ Vide ante.

⁶ This distinction corresponds fairly with the later one bet. 'tānti' and 'jolā' in Bengal and Bihār: the former being 'vāso-vāya's' only, the latter producing napkins, covers, upholstering stuff, etc. (Q.—Is 'jolā' conn. with Tāmil 'jabali' = cloth? 'j(jh)abli' in several vern. means 'shabby clothes or rags.' Probably the Vedic names Jābāla and Jabālā mean "of a weaver ('jolā') family", and perhaps place-names like Jabalpur or Jabli originally signified "weaver settlement").

⁷ Pañc. Brā. I, 8, 9; cf. Sat. Brā., III, 1, 2, 13ff.

⁸ Rv. X, 71, 9.

⁹ 'Sirī' is probably pre-Aryan; it is clearly connected with Tāmil 'silai' = cloth; in E. Verns., all work with woven stuff is designated 'sirī,' 'sili,' 'silai' or 'si(e)lāi.' Cf. also Tāmil 'sārigai,' embroidered fringe, which is probably connected with vern. 'sāri.' Probably the 'sirī-āmmā' of Buddhist sculpture is the presiding genius of household weaving and handiworks ('patnis' wove or embroidered cloths for their husbands; cf. Av. XIV, 21, 51), hence of domestic prosperity,—the original of the classical 'Sri' (known from Sat. Brā. onwards.)

¹⁰ Rv. VI, 9, 2, 3; Av. XIV, 2, 51; Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 4; etc.

¹¹ Av. XIV, 2, 51; cf. XV, 3, 6 (prob. = 'gut'); Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 18; Rv. X, 134, 5 (plant filaments).

¹² Rv. X, 71, 9; etc.

¹³ Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 4; etc.

and 'mayūkha' (peg, lead-weight, or shuttle)¹ are mentioned early in simile; and the different parts of the 'vāsas' are described² in a manner that shows that it is the well-known cotton 'dhūti,' and presupposes a fully developed and long established indigenous cotton-industry, with which the Vedic priesthood was quite familiar. It is to be noted that none of these and other terms, connected with 'vāsas' and weaving, refer to woollen or other manufactures; where silks are intended, their specific names are given, like 'tārpya' or 'kṣauma'³; and similarly woollens are distinguished as 'vāsas,' derived from 'avi's or 'ūrnā.' Thus the frequently used⁴ general terms, 'vāsas,' 'vasana,' 'vastra,' etc., with all their manifold parts and appliances for production so often detailed,⁵ can only refer to the Gangetic cotton manufactures, probably a prehistoric craft, with which the Vedic or Brāhmaṇic civilization began. Accordingly we find the 'vāsas' being called sacred and divine in every part of it, in the ritualistic texts.⁶

The 'vāsas' known to the average priest is practically of the same type in the several Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas; and its descriptions would apply equally to the modern hand-loom products of Bengal. Apart from its obvious analysis into threads constituting warp and woof ('otavaḥ' and 'tantavaḥ,'⁶ or 'otavaḥ' and 'prācīnatāna,'⁷ or 'paryāsa' and 'anuchāda'⁸), it had borders and fringes and ornamental embroideries, for which a number of technical terms are given, showing the same variety and importance of these in Vedic as in later times. Thus 'sic' is a general term⁹ for the sewn on

1 Vāja. Sam. XIX, 80; 83 (intermingling of liquors like shuttle through the loom). Mayūkha=Māku (shuttle) of the Bengal weavers.

2 E.g. Rv. I, 95, 7; Av. XIV, 2, 51; Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff; Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1; Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13-18; etc.

3 Probably 'uttuda,' in Av. III, 25, 1, means "sprung from 'tuda' or mulberry," i.e. 'silken' (coverlet).

4 'Vāsas': Rv. I, 34, 1; 115, 4; VIII, 3, 24; X, 102, 2; etc.; Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 9, 7; 11, 2; Vāja. Sam. II, 32; XI, 40; Ait. Brā. I, 3; etc.;—'vasana': Rv. I, 95, 7; Chānd. Upan. VIII, 8, 5; Kaus. Upan. II, 15;—'vastra': Rv. I, 26, 1; 134, 4; III, 39, 2; IV, 38, 5; V, 29, 15; etc.; Av. V, 1, 3; IX, 5, 25; XII, 3, 21; etc.

5 E.g. Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff.

6 E.g. in Av. XIV, 2, 51; cf. 1, 45; Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1.

7 E.g. in Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff.

8 E.g. in Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff.

9 Probably 'hīmā' in Rv. I, 34, 1, is another such name for borders or fringes of a cloth which are inseparable from it, or from one another (vāsasaḥ hīmaveva); if 'hīmā' may be derived from 'han' (cf. Sāyaṇa), it can be compared with 'praghāta'; also 'daśā' a somewhat later term for these: e.g. in Sat. Brā. III, 3, 2, 9; strainers with 'daśā': Ait. Brā. VII, 32; Sat. Brā. IV, 2, 2, 11; 1, 1, 28; and in the Sūtras.

or embroidered border or fringe (corresponding to modern 'pār' and 'āñclā'); two such are sometimes specified,¹ showing the same old style of having two lengthwise and two breadthwise borders (the latter being the 'āñclā's) of the same design for each pair; where the child is covered by its mother's 'sic,'² where a deer-horn is tied in the sacrificer's 'sic,'³ or where the horizons at sunrise and sunset are said to be the two 'sicau'⁴ of the sky-cloth, it is the breadthwise broader border: elsewhere it is the lengthwise narrower one, or all the borders.⁵ This wider border (corresponding to the 'āñclā') is specially designated the 'nivi,'⁶ the closely woven end of the cloth,—from which depends the 'praghāta' (or 'the strikers'),⁶ the loose and long unwoven fringe with swaying tassels; the 'vāsas' had only one 'nivi' usually, as now, the other end of the cloth being much plainer⁸: to this plainer end would belong the 'tūṣa'⁹ (or 'the chaffs'), a shorter fringe (corresponding to modern 'chilā' or 'chilkā,'—'chaffs'). The 'vātapāna,'¹⁰ mentioned in two passages descriptive of the 'vāsas' as *part* of it, obviously cannot mean 'a garment to protect against winds': it is rather that part of the cloth which protects *it* against winds, i.e., its lengthwise borders,¹¹ which keep the web together from becoming thread-bare by fluttering in the wind (specially during movements). The 'ārokāḥ'¹² (or 'the brilliants') seem to have been flowers, stars or other spotty patterns¹³ embroidered all over the cloth (corresponding to modern 'phul,' 'buṭā,' etc.).

1 E.g. Rv. I, 95, 7.

2 Rv. X, 18, 11=Av. XVIII, 3, 50.

3 Sat. Brā. III, 2, 1, 18.

4 Rv. I, 95, 7.

5 E.g. in Av. XIV, 2, 51; Rv. III, 53, 2.

6 Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff.; Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1; Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff.; 'nivi' is probably from Tāmil 'nev,' to weave; cf. vern. 'newār' = woven straps.

7 So also, the 'praghāta' is dedicated to plants or serpents: the 'antāḥ' of Av. XIV, 2, 51, is clearly = 'praghāta.'

8 Specially in the case of men's cloths, this end being tucked up behind.

9 Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 1, 1; II, 4, 9, 1; VI, 1, 1, 3; Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1; Taitt. Brā. I, 6, 1, 8; Pañc. Brā. XVII, 1; etc. The Vratyas favoured braided 'tūṣa' fringes (dāma-tūṣāni). Apparently the 'tantavaḥ' of Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff. = 'tūṣa,' for there 'otu' and 'tantu' are already represented by 'paryāsa' and 'anuchāda.' That 'tūṣa' = chaff, like lashes, is shown by its dedication to Agni.

10 Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff.; 'vātapā': Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1; not in Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff., where however 'sic' occurs.

11 Probably preserved in the 'batan' (= border) of the Bengal weavers: e.g. in 'golā-batan' cloths (cf. (?) 'bāttnaul-kai': a caste of Madurā weavers); also in vern. 'bātā' = split-bamboo, used in strengthening borders of thatches, etc.

12 Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff.; 'atirokāḥ': Kāth. Sam. XXIII, 1; 'atīkāśāḥ': Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 1, 3ff. (probably wrong reading). 'Arokāḥ' may be an adapted form of the Tāmil 'arukapi' = ornamental border of cloths. Cf. classification of shawls, etc. as 'ek-rokhā' and 'du-rokhā' acc. to the nature of their embroidered patterns.

13 So also, they are dedicated to the 'nakṣatras.'

For ritual purposes the cloth had to be unbleached and unwashed,¹ but ordinarily it was worn white: as by the Vāsiṣṭhas.² Dyed³ cloths with rich gold-thread brocades were affected by gay young women (typified by the attire of Ūṣas)⁴; and red and gold borders are indicated by their comparison with the horizons at sunrise and sunset.⁵ But the Vṛātya 'grhapati's favoured dark-blue ('kṛṣṇaśa': antelope-hued) cloths and borders.⁶

The manner of wearing the cloth is not directly indicated by any reference. The 'vāsas' however is always 'tied,' 'girt,' etc. ('nah'),⁷—which implies tucks and knots. The idiom 'nīviṃ kṛ'⁸ shows that each individual wore the 'nīvi'

¹ E.g. in Sat. Brā. III, 1, 2, 13ff. ('ahata'). Cf. the traditional distinction in the uses of 'korā' and 'dholai' cloths.

² Rv. VII, 33, 1 (śvityaṇcah); cf. 83, 8; cf. 'śukram atkam': Rv. I, 95, 7; 'niktam atkam': IX, 69, 4.

³ The female cloth-dyer ('rajayitri') is known early: e.g., Vāja. Sam. XXX, 12; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 7, 1.

⁴ E.g. Rv. I, 92, 4; X, 1, 6.

⁵ Rv. I, 95, 7.

⁶ Pañc. Brā. XVII, 14-16; cf. Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XXII, 4, etc.; 'akṛṣṇam kṛṣṇadaśam vā' is added in the Sūtras, and the name 'kadgu' (preserved in vern. 'khādi' and 'khaddar?') is given to these varieties of cloths; 'valūkāntāni' of the older passage is explained in the Sūtras and comm. as red or blue-black borders,—which is no explanation; as 'dāmatūṣāni' in the same phrase denotes a 'style' of 'tūṣa', 'valūkāntāni' must mean a 'style' of the broader border, i.e., 'falling in folds', or 'pleated' (val-ūka); (probably done up with the help of 'gilā' and 'śāṅkh' in the same manner as 'deśi' dhūtis in the fashionable Bengal zemindār's wardrobe). The 'kṛṣṇaśa' vāsas would correspond to the modern 'nīlāmbari', which as well as blue-black borders (kṛṣṇa-daśam) on an indigo-dyed web, are Bengal specialties and favourites. (For the descr. 'antelope-hued', cf. mod. 'peacock-throated' variety). (It is curious that this peculiarity of the Vṛātyas should in later days belong to the Mahomedan population of Bengal (also in some other provinces, e.g., Punjab), who affect the blues as opposed to the reds, which are the 'Hindu' shades in weavers' tradition (cf. Watt: Comm. Prod. of Ind., s.v. Cotton); in the same connection Vṛātyas are said to use 'silver' ornaments instead of the usual gold (—naturally, as silver occurs chiefly with iron ores in which the "Vṛātya country" is rich); this, again, is a Mahomedan trait in Bengal. It may be noted that Bengal Mahomedans represent a large section of the indigenous basic population of the Province.)

⁷ E.g. Av. XIV, 2, 70.

⁸ Av. VIII, 2, 16 (what 'nīvi' thou makest for thyself); 6, 20 (2 herbs to be borne in the woman's 'nīvi', evidently at the navel); XIV, 2, 49-50 (make thyself a 'nīvi' of this 'vāsas'—where the context shows that the 'nīvi' is hanging folds of the 'vāsas'). It is difficult to see how a separate inner garment can be meant by 'nīvi' in these passages (so V.I.); 'nīvi' is distinctly stated to be a part of the cloth, like 'praghāta', etc. In later use also 'nīvi' is a knot, gather or tuck, at the navel, of the fringed border which is primarily the 'nīvi'. Thus, in those passages 'nīvi' is best taken as the 'style' of

(or āñclā) in his or her own way: evidently this refers to the same styles as the elaborate pleats and artistic waist-knots (nivi-bandha) of men and women in the early sculptures and classical paintings and poetry. The 'nivi' thus represents the modern 'koñcā' (pleats) and 'gāñṭ' (knot)¹: there is however no trace of the 'kāchā' (tuck of the plainer end of a cloth at the back). Probably the Dravidian style of wearing the cloth without such posterior tuck² was at one time the fashion in N. India also. The Vrātya preference of braided or tasselled 'tūṣa' fringes³ may, however, indicate that, while others tucked up the 'tūṣa' in a full gather, the Vrātyas displayed the hanging ornamental fringe, by tucking only one corner of it.⁴ The 'nivi'-knot was sometimes so fashioned as to form a pouch, wherein magic herbs could be borne.⁵ Sometimes, also, the 'nivi' consisted of simply two 'tuckings up' ('udgūhana')⁶ at the sides (as now, specially with men). Elsewhere women are said to tie their 'nivi' on the right side of the hip, the 'nivi' being then covered by the upper garment; such 'nivi' must have been an ample gather of folds and fringe-tassels, for there a bundle of 'barhis' represents the 'nivi.'⁷ It seems probable that women did not wind a part of the 'vāsas' over the bosom and shoulders (as now generally done in N. India), which covered only the lower half of the body (as in Mālābār, etc.). The description of Uṣas wearing rich brocaded cloth, and yet displaying her bosom,⁸ would suggest this latter style; the 'nivi' style itself implies that no part of the broad border was left for such covering, and the early sculptures, etc., do not show it.⁹ Apparently the upper part of the body of men and women was

wearing the 'nivi' or border. It is possible however to see in 'yat te vāsaḥ paridhānam, yān nīvam kṛṇuṣe tvam', a reference to the ordinary 'wearing cloth' and a separate specially woven strip to serve as an artistically tied waist-band, something like the 'commerbund' of medieval Dacca manufacture; this specialization and separation of the 'nivi' is also shown in quite early sculptures, etc. But even in that case the 'nivi' would be an outer adjunct and not an inner garment, forming one of three.

- 1 The former is more in evidence in Bengal, the latter in Bihār and westwards.
- 2 Curiously, again, the Bengal Mahomedans affect this tuckless style; cf. n. 7, p. 64, (re Vrātyas).
- 3 Vide ante.
- 4 Also a Dravidian peculiarity.
- 5 As in the Bihāri knot. Av. VIII, 6, 20. This style cannot have been confined to women, as not much later on, 'nivi' came to mean deposit money or capital.
- 6 Sat. Brā. III, 2, 1, 15.
- 7 Sat. Brā. I, 3, 3, 6.
- 8 Rv. I, 92, 4.
- 9 In these the upper part of the body is often bare, covered only by various elaborate ornaments: sometimes a few lines are indicated to show a filmy wrap.

covered, when necessary, by another separate garment, either a loose wrap, like 'upavāsana,' 'paryāṇahana,' or 'adhivāsa,'—or a tailor-made close-fitting jacket, bodice or cloak, like the 'pratidhi,' 'drāpi,' or 'atka.' Thus the bride had her 'upavāsana,' apparently a scarf or veil¹ (corresponding to the modern 'oriā' used by women),—and the 'vāsas' of Mudgalānī that fluttered high up in the air,² was evidently such an 'uttariya' scarf. 'Soma,' in the ritual, has his 'paryāṇahana,'—in addition to his 'upanahana' and 'uṣṇīṣa,'³—from which a strip two or three inches wide might be torn to form an 'uṣṇīṣa,' if necessary; so that the 'paryāṇahana' (lit. wrapped round about) was a pretty long and ample scarf of light texture.⁴ The 'adhivāsa' does not seem to have been close fitting like the 'atka' or 'drāpi,'⁵ as it is an 'over-garment,' worn by princes over their inner and outer garments⁶; again the forests are the 'adhivāsa' of mother earth licked by the fire-child⁷; it was thus more like a long loose-flowing dressing-gown, suiting both men and women⁸; it may not, however, have been a tailor-made garment at all, being called a 'vāsas'⁹; probably it was of the same sort as the 'upavāsana.' The 'pratidhi' must, from the context,¹⁰ refer to a part of the bride's attire, apart from the newly woven, excellent garment¹¹; apparently it consisted of one or two strips of specially made cloth drawn across or crosswise over the bust and tied at the back, to serve as a bodice,¹² or was a short and tight bust-bodice like the later 'kañculikā' (mod. 'kañculi'). The 'drāpi' seems to have been a close-fitting¹³ and gold-embroidered¹⁴ vest,¹⁵ used equally

1 Av. XIV, 2, 49 and 65. (In the latter passage it may mean coverlet of a couch, being mentioned along with furniture).

2 Rv. X, 102, 2.

3 These three may well be rendered by the mod. terms, 'cādar' (or 'urūpi'), 'dhūti' and 'pagrī,' respectively.

4 Sat. Brā. III. 3, 2, 3.

5 So V.I.

6 Sat. Brā. V, 4, 4, 3.

7 Rv. I, 140, 9.

8 Vide n. 7 above (mātaḥ); cf. Rv. X, 5, 4.

9 E.g. Rv. I, 162, 16.

10 Av. XIV, 1, 8.

11 Av. XIV, 1, 7.45; the usual reference to a part of the chariot is hardly appropriate.

12 This style is now found amongst Kolārian races, and is a specially festive one. (Cf. the cross cords in Hellenic drapery).

13 Rv. I, 166, 10 (Cyavāna's old age like a 'drāpi'); probably 'drāpi' = a tight vest suitable for running about (drā).

14 Rv. I, 25, 13 (hiraṇyayam); IV, 53, 2 (piśaṅgam); Av. V, 7, 10 ('hiraṇya-drāpi,' adj. of a woman).

15 Av. XIII, 3, 1 (the sun wearing the 3 worlds, making a 'drāpi' of them: hence the 'drāpi' had three pieces, two side ones and one back, like a waistcoat; it was not a 'coat of mail' (so V.I.) being worn by women, and the use of 'vasānah,' etc. (cf. 'drāpiṃ vasānah,' Rv. IX, 86, 14) would rather show that it was made of 'vāsas').

by men and women,¹ specially by prominent men² and gay women.³ The 'atka' was confined to men; and was a long⁴ and fully covering,⁵ close-fitting⁶ cloak, bright⁷ and beautiful,⁷ the stuff being bleached⁷ cotton,⁸ interwoven⁹ or embroidered¹⁰ with gold threads. 'Peśas' is gold-embroidered cloth generally¹¹; the designs were apparently artistic and intricate,¹² and the inlay of gold heavy and brilliant¹³; where, however, the 'nrtū' appears with 'peśāmsi' on,¹⁴ it might refer to a pleated skirt made of such brocaded cloth, like the medieval and modern 'ghāghrā' or 'peśwāz'.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that the early Vedic references to 'atka,' 'peśas,' 'śāmulya' and 'drāpi' come mostly from Āngirasa poets¹⁶; these were therefore primarily East Indian styles. Curiously enough,

- ¹ Cf. the same style in N. W. India, where both men and women show off their richly embroidered waistcoats.
- ² Rv. IX, 100, 9 (wearing 'drāpi' on becoming great).
- ³ Av. V, 7, 10 ('hiranya-drāpi' worn by 'Arāti' likened to a courtesan).
- ⁴ Rv. II, 35, 14 (food carried in one's own 'atka': i.e., in the long skirt made into an apron).
- ⁵ Rv. V, 74, 5 ('vavrim atkam, likened to Cyavāna's old age: probably being a tight fitting garment it showed many creases resembling wrinkled skin); cf. IV, 18, 5 (Indra born with 'atka' = his own covering glory).
- ⁶ 'Surabhim atkam': Rv. VI, 29, 3; X, 123, 7.
- ⁷ 'Like sun': Rv. VI, 29, 3; X, 123, 7; 'arjuna': Rv. IX, 107, 13; 'śukram': Rv. I, 95, 7; 'niktam': Rv. IX, 69, 4; 'sudṛśi': Rv. I, 122, 2.
- ⁸ As 'vyūtam' and frequent use of 'vasānaḥ' shows; it cannot very well have been an armour (as sometimes translated and explained).
- ⁹ 'Hiranyair vyūtam': Rv. I, 122, 2.
- ¹⁰ 'Hiranyayān': Rv. V, 55, 6.
- ¹¹ Rv. IV, 36, 7 (the best and attractive 'peśas' spread for the gods); cf. 'hiranya-peśas' worn by a house-holder and his wife: Rv. VIII, 31, 8; VII, 42, 1; Vāja. Sam. XIX, 82; 83; 89; etc. (vide other notes below).
- ¹² Rv. II, 3, 6; cf. Vāja. Sam. XX, 41 (design compared with the poets' songs). The manner of 'peśas' work described here is the same as the 'jari' and 'śālmā-cumki' work in the present day.
- ¹³ Rv. VII, 34, 11 (the glittering surface of rivers = 'peśas' = Varuṇa: the 'jari' work is most faithfully described in this passage; any one who has seen the play of sunlight on the turbid lower Ganges will appreciate the similarity). Cf. X, 114, 3, where 'peśas' is apparently called bright as 'ghee' (i.e., golden).
- ¹⁴ Rv. I, 92, 4-5; cf. also 'yuvatīḥ supesāḥ': Rv. X, 114, 3.
- ¹⁵ These are worn frequently in Upper India, but are specially associated with dancing-girls throughout the country.
- ¹⁶ Thus re 'atka': Rv. I, 95, 7; 122, 2; IV, 18, 5; VI, 29, 3; VIII, 41, 7 are the Āngirasa refs.: 3 other refs. are Atreya, and 2 Bhārgava; re 'peśas,' the Āngirasa refs. are: Rv. I, 92, 4; IV, 36, 7; 2 others being Vasiṣṭha and Bhārgava: re 'śāmulya', the only early Vedic reference is in Av. (occurring in Rv. as well); re 'drāpi,' the Āngirasa refs. are: Rv. I, 116, 10; IV, 53, 2; Av. V, 7, 10; XIII, 3, 1; one being Kāśyapa, another Bhārgava.

these are preserved in the later 'ackān,'¹ 'péswā (°z),'² and 'śāmlā,'³ which agree fully with the Vedic items of dress; they are usually supposed to be derived from the Persian; but more probably it is a case of re-imposition of Persian stamp upon common Indo-Irānian items of material civilization; in fact, the Persians must have ultimately derived these styles from their Western-Aila ancestors,—from the Purāṇic point of view.⁴

It is remarkable that the 'uṣṇīṣa' is not mentioned in early Vedic literature, except in connection with the Vṛātyas in the Av.⁵; it appears, however, oftener in the Yv. Saṃhitās and Brāhmanas, but again chiefly in connection with the Vṛātyas⁶ and Kings.⁷ It seems likely therefore that turbans were not originally in use,⁸ and were introduced as a style through the Vṛātyas of the Prācī, amongst whom kingship is said to have arisen.⁹ The Vṛātya's 'uṣṇīṣa' was bright and white as day (while his hair was dark as night)¹⁰; it was evidently of some fine cotton stuff¹¹; this was (according to the Sūtras) tied with a tilt and cross-windings.¹² The King's 'uṣṇīṣa' was tied in a special manner at ceremonial sacrifices¹³: the ends were gathered together and tucked away in front, so as to cover them up,¹⁴ this tuck at front being preferred by the Sat. Brā. to the other ritual style of winding the turban quite

1 'Ackān' used to be an item of respectable Hindu dress (as opposed to Mahomedan), but is now used chiefly by waiters or menials in Anglo-Indian establishments.

2 'Péswā' = women's garment; 'péswāz' = full-dress gown, sp. of dancers. Such special dancers' dress was noted by Greek writers of the 4th cent. B.C.

3 Vide p. 59, n. 6.

4 Vide infra. sec. re Persian influence in early social customs.

5 Av. XV, 2, 1ff. (where it is one of the 'characteristics' of the Vṛātya chieftain).

6 Pañc. Brā. XVI, 6, 13; XVII, 1, 14 (amongst 'vrātyadhanāni'; read 'ādhanāni')

7 Mait. Sam. IV, 4, 3, etc. (kṣatra at sacrifices); Sat. Brā. III, 3, 2, 3 (King 'Soma'); V, 3, 5, 23 (King at sacrifices); XIV, 2, 1, 18 (Indrāṇi); etc.; (fee of gold presented in an 'uṣṇīṣa', in 3 kośas: Kāth. Sam. XIII, 10; Taitt. Sam. III, 4, 1, 4).

8 The only head-dress known to Rv. being the 'śīprā', a sort of helmet, evidently used only in battle: e.g. Rv. V, 54, 11; VIII, 7, 25; etc. Probably the Aryan incomers wore felt caps and hats (like various Scythic or Irānic tribes). 'Stūpa,' in the loosened 'stūpa' of Aryaman, or in the proper name 'Hiraṇyastūpa,' may mean the Vedic 'topi' ('tupi') or conical cap; for the shape, cf. the traditional ceremonial 'cap', 'topara'; resembling a 'stūpa' structure.

9 Cf. AV. XV, 2-10, which agrees fully with the unanimous Purāṇic tradition re first kings in the Sūta-Māgadha country.

10 Av. XV, 2.

11 Like the muslim 'pāgri-cloth' traditionally used.

12 'Tiryaṇ-naddham': Kāt. Sr. Sūt. XXI, 4. This is the traditional style again.

13 Sat. Brā. V, 3, 5, 20ff.

14 'Saṃhṛtya purastād avaguhyati'.

round about.¹ These special styles show that ordinarily the princes wore turbans with loose hanging ends,² which were inconvenient and dangerous in ritual; accordingly, elsewhere in ritual, the 'uṣṇīṣa' is only a kerchief³: probably this kerchief tied round the head (in Tibeto-Burman or Kolārian fashion) was the original brāhmanical 'uṣṇīṣa,' so that when ruling princes joined in their rituals, they had to adopt a trimmer form of their unwieldy turbans⁴; so also 'Indrāṇī' wears an 'uṣṇīṣa' like a zone, of variegated hue,⁵—clearly a head-band of a many-coloured silken kerchief.⁶

No general footwear, again, is mentioned in the earlier Samhitās.⁷ 'Paḍvīṣa'⁸ in the Rv. is applied to the leggings of a horse⁹; 'vaṭurīṇā padā'¹⁰ probably refers to heavy ('mahā') covering footguards, used by chiefs¹¹ in battle; 'pat-saṅginī'¹² in the Av. also refers to somewhat clumsy hampering foot-fasteners used by soldiers.¹³ The 'upānah' first occurs in the Yv. Samhitās¹⁴ and the Brāhmaṇas, as used in ritual¹⁵ and by

1 There is no mention in the Brā.^o text of the ends of the turban being tied behind, drawn over one shoulder like an 'upavīta', and tucking in the waist-cloth. (Cf. Eggeling's note in S.B.E. and comm. on the passage).

2 In traditional style: e.g. in Upper India generally, specially amongst military castes.

3 Sat. Brā. IV, 5, 2, 2, 7; the 'uṣṇīṣa' that is tied round the eyes of the 'nāga seer' Arbuda, seems also to be a kerchief only: Ait. Brā. VI, 1. In Sat. Brā. III, 3, 2, 3, the 'emergency' turban bound with a strip of cloth 2/3 inches only in width, shows that the turban was often a mere band, or a 'ropy' head-gear with many twists, like that affected by Deccānis.

4 Cf. the modifications of the royal 'āsandī' in ritual.

5 Sat. Brā. XIV, 2, 1, 8. Cf. Rām. VI, 80 ("Rāk^o." women wearing red 'uṣṇīṣas' while assisting at Indrajit's sacrifice).

6 A Kolārian and Burmese feminine style, again.

7 Tradition however ascribes a high antiquity to the 'upānah' (and the 'chatra'): it is said that Jamadagni-Bhārgava (contemporary of the famous Rgvedic Viśvāmitra) introduced their use for the comfort of his delicate wife, the Aikṣvāka princess Revakā (cf. Mbh. XIII, 95); hence either the Ikṣvākus took to shoes and sunshades after the Bhṛgu, or, more probably, the Bhṛgu brāhmaṇs learnt their use from the 'Solar' court, after Jamadagni's politic marriage. It is curious that the Av. (VI, 136-7) ascribes the first preparation of a potent hair-tonic to this Jamadagni-Bhārgava, who prescribed it for his daughter (apparently as stylish a lady as her royal mother!). All this agrees with the well known fact that the Bhṛgu were the most "Kṣatriyanised" of the brāhmaṇs. Probably other brāhmaṇic groups were not accustomed to shoes, etc., till later on: hence there is no very early mention of these in priestly literature.

8 Rv. I, 166, 16.

9 In Av., to foot-fetters or shackles (VIII, 1, 4; XII, 5, 15, etc.).

10 Rv. I, 133, 2.

11 Indra crushes enemy heads with them. It is interesting to compare the Indo-Scythic boots, as in Kaniska's statue and Kushan coins.

12 Av. V, 21, 10.

13 Apparently worn only during long marches or rapid flights.

14 Also in Av. XX, 133, 4,—a late passage.

15 Taitt. Sam. V, 4, 4, 4; 6, 6, 1, etc., Sat. Brā. V, 4, 3, 19; Kauṣ. Brā. III, 3 (staff and sandals).

the Vrātyas.¹ The ritual sandals or shoes were made of black-antelope- or boar-skins²; those of the Vrātyas are described in the Sūtras³ as black and pointed ('karpinyau'), etc.⁴; these details indicate that the most stylish shoe-wearers of those days were the Vrātyas, just as they were the chief wearers of the 'uṣṇīṣa.' It is probable that the use of footwear in early times was to some extent limited by the common fashion (with both men and women) of wearing 'khādis' or anklets.⁵

Similarly the use of the 'uṣṇīṣa,' also, must have been restricted by the prevalent fashions of hair-dressing. Whole clans had distinctive styles of wearing the hair: thus the Vāsiṣṭhas could be recognized by their white clothes and 'kaparda' worn on the right side of the head⁶; so that they could never have used turbans; and (as already noticed) apparently no brāhmaṇs originally used them. Another style of hair-dressing was wearing the 'kaparda' in front ('pulasti')⁷; it seems probable that the Pulastyas (an early brāhmaṇ group cognate to the Agastyas, and like them associated with Deccān non-Āryans)⁸ were so-called from this distinctive style. 'Kesara-prābandhāyāḥ' in the corrupt Atharvavedic passage⁹ yields much better sense if read '-prābandhānām' (specially in view of the fact that the whole context¹⁰ refers to the results of the famous Haihaya-Bhārgava

1 Pañc. Brā. XVII, 14-16.

2 Vide note 15, page 69.

3 E.g. Kāt. Śr. Sūt. XXII, 4.

4 According to details in other Sūtras (and comm.), these were also variegated, or like 'varma,' i.e., with metal knobs; etc.

5 Cf. Rv. V, 54, 11; etc.

6 Rv. VII, 33, 1; 83, 8.

7 Vāja. Sam. XVI, 43; it is usually taken as meaning 'wearing the hair plain'; but 'placed in front' suits the context much better, for Rudra's 'kaparda' is traditionally inclined in front ('pulasti-kapardin'). It seems however equally probable that this 'pulasti' style was so called being that affected by the Pulastyas, and not for being a frontal mode of 'Kaparda'-dressing. The clan-names of the Pulastyas, Pulahas and Agastyas mean the same thing (previous inhabitants), and correspond to the Pelasgō of Hellenic history; together with the Kratus they seem (from Purāṇic evidence) to have formed an earlier (pre-Āryan) stratum of civilization in India; they were finally either absorbed after struggles with Mānvas and Ailas, or were expelled seawards and westwards.

8 In all Purāṇas; the Pulastyas would thus seem to have been "Saivites." (Q.—Has 'kapardin,' etc., a phallic symbolic significance? i.e., from 'kaprth'; in that case the Vāsiṣṭhas and Pulastyas may have been 'phallic' priests originally).

9 Av. V, 18, 11; the various interpretations of commentators and translators making 'kesara-prābandhā' a cow or a woman with a she-goat, etc., are absurd; if the passage has to be emended, the above emendation (with 'caramajān' for 'caramajāṃ' etc.) would be best: the sense would then be, that the Vaitahavyas who destroyed even the new-born babes of the 'kesara-prābandhāḥ' Bhṛguas, perished with their whole kin, etc.—which in fact is the unanimous tradition.

10 Av. V. 18-19. This is a very remarkable early brāhmaṇical version of the famous Haihaya raids of Purāṇic tradition.

conflict); this reading would show the Bhārgavas to have been 'kesara-prābandhah,' or 'wearing braided hair like manes,'—quite in agreement with similar Vedic references to brāhmaṇical hair-dressings. Some of the Vedic gods wear 'kaparda's and 'opaśa's, apart from goddesses like Sinivālī¹: thus Rudra has his hair in the 'kaparda' style²; so also Pūṣan³; and Indra's 'opaśa' is likened to the vault of heaven.⁴ These divinities have marked indigenous and extra-āryan features; and it is significant that peculiar styles of hair-dressing to the exclusion of those of head-dresses should be characteristic of brāhmaṇs and such gods.

Women of course wore their hair in a number of different styles, which are, however, rather vaguely indicated by the special terms,⁵ 'stukā,'⁶ 'kurira,' or 'kumba,' besides the 'opaśa' and 'kaparda' mentioned above. In the first place, it seems clear enough that 'opaśa' and 'kaparda,' being ascribed to men as well, were not distinctively feminine styles, and could be managed by the average long-haired man. Accordingly young maidens are said to wear their hair in four 'kaparda's.⁷ What the 'kaparda' of men was like, can be very well made out from the traditional representations of the 'kapardin' god and the hair-dressing of his followers⁸: it was a spiral coil of the braided, plaited or matted hair, piled on the top of the head at different angles. It was apparently the same in the case of women, for the maidens' four 'kaparda's are compared to the four corners of the altar,⁹ and so cannot mean 'braids' or 'plaits,'¹⁰ while Sinivālī's 'kaparda' is an alternative style classed with 'kurira' and 'opaśa.'¹¹ The four 'kaparda's of maidens

- 1 It is to be noted that in Epic-Purāṇic mythology, Sinivālī and other cognate goddesses are specially Āṅgīrasa and domestic ones. (So also a chief feature of Indo-Āryan mythology is absence or unimportance of goddesses). Mudgala of Pāṇcāla, who became an Āṅgīrasa, wore a 'kaparda' (carrying at the same time an 'astrā' like Vṛātya chiefs): Rv. X, 103, 8.
- 2 Rv. I, 114, 1, 5; Vāja. Sam. XVI, 10; 29; 43; 49; 59. (Occasionally a Rudra wears scattered tufts or has a shaven head: Vāja. Sam. XVI, 59 and 29 respectively).
- 3 Rv. VI, 55, 2; IX, 67, 11.
- 4 Rv. I, 173, 6; VIII, 14, 5; the sense of 'diadem' is not at all necessary.
- 5 The commentators are hopelessly contradictory and evasive with regard to these terms.
- 6 Cf. E. vern. 'thokā' = lump.
- 7 Rv. X, 114, 3.
- 8 The Śaiva devotees; this style is also affected by men in Orissa and the S.E., even now.
- 9 Vide ante.
- 10 As taken in VI.
- 11 Vāja. Sam. XI, 56.

must have together formed a crown-shaped coiffure. The 'opaśa' as worn by men probably consisted in gathering up all the hair with a small top-knot, leaving it loose enough to form a dome-like cover or founced cap; this would explain most of the figures in the texts connected with 'opaśa': thus the 'opaśa's of Indra and Soma¹ are like the clouded or vaulted sky; the thatched net-covered² roofing of a house (compared to a woman) is like 'opaśa' spread over the 'viśūvant'³; and the knob-like horns of the year-old cow are 'opaśas'.⁴ These last similes show that the 'opaśa' was of the same style in the case of women also,—unless the qualification 'su' in Sinivālī's description⁵ is taken to mean a heavier 'kaparda' and an ampler 'opaśa',—and with the probable exception of the covering and withholding net⁶; but 'hariḥ' 'opaśa' of Soma⁷ might refer to coloured covering-nets used by men as well. It seems that sometimes 'opaśa' (by a common figure) meant this covering-net only, as in the case of the bride's hair being dressed into a 'kurira' and 'opaśa,' where the two apparently form parts of one composite coiffure.⁸ The practical identity of the masculine and feminine 'opaśa's is also shown by the Av. charm, which regards the unsexing of a rival as complete only when, after the 'opaśa,' the 'kurira' and then the 'kumba' are, in addition placed on his head.⁹ These two therefore were the distinctively womanly styles¹⁰: and they are, accordingly not ascribed to men in the texts. As 'kuririn' is used secondarily of a horned animal,¹¹ the 'kurira' must have been a horn-shaped coiffure, possible only with the long braids of women; a net or veil ('opaśa.' 2.) may have been hung from this 'horn'.¹² The

1 Rv. I, 173, 6; VIII, 14, 5, and IX, 71, 1, respectively.

2 The 1000-eyed 'akṣu.'

3 Av. IX, 3, 8; the parting of the hair would naturally be covered by such cap-like 'opaśa.' (It will be noted that such 'opaśa' would have a frontal aspect exactly like a curved thatch with hanging eaves).

4 Pañc. Brā. IV, 1, 1; cf. 'dvy-opaśāḥ' in XIII, 4, 3. (It is not the long fully grown horns of kine that are referred to; the sense of horn here is obviously metaphorical and secondary).

5 Taitt. Sam. IV, 1, 5, 3; Mait. Sam. II, 7, 5; Vāja. Sam. XI, 56. (It is difficult to see how 'su' can refer to a Vedic custom of wearing false plaits of hair).

6 Indicated by the simile in Av. LX, 3, 8.

7 With this may be compared the zone-like headband of variegated hue worn by Indrāṇī. Vide ante.

8 Av. XIV, 1, 8=Rv. X, 85, 8. Vide infra, re 'kurira.'

9 Av. VI, 133, 1-3.

10 Cf. Apast. Śr. Sūt.—"Kumba and kurira on the patni's head."

11 Av. V, 31, 1 (as already noted, 'opaśa' cannot mean such a long horn).

12 As probably in the bride's hair-dress; (vide note 8 above). This style is still to be found in the hill tracts between the upper Sutlej and Ganges.

'kumba'¹ is evidently the vern. 'khompā'² of later times, the specially feminine, hemispherical or pot-shaped coil at the back of the head.

- 1 The form and sense of the word suggests a connection with 'kumbha,' 'kambu,' etc., all implying something rounded. (Probably 'kumbyā' as a form of measured speech like sāman or gāthā is taken from some process or feature in the 'kumba' dressing : cf. Sat. Brā. XI, 5, 7, 10).
- 2 It is to be noted that the 'kumba' occurs only in Av. (and much later on in Sūtras); the presumption therefore is that it was primarily an Āṅgīrasa style; it may be connected with Tāmil 'kuḍum' = 'coil of hair' and 'pā,' to weave or 'braid.' Cf. vern. 'kadam (ba),' a flower, and 'kadmā,' a sort of toffee,—both obviously deriving their names from the various elaborate modes of the 'kumba.'

TRACES OF PRIMITIVES SEX-RELATION AND SPECIAL CUSTOMS

There is no explicit statement in the earlier Samhitās (as there is in the Epic-Purāṇic literature)¹ of any notion that at a remote period the regular and correct marriage was unknown, and that the institution was gradually developed or introduced by way of reform. But there are clear indications in them that an established standard of marriage was only evolved through various preceding stages of sexual relationships, more or less primitive in character.

Such relationship was not uncommon in early times as between brothers and sisters. Though it seems from the Yama-Yamī dialogue² (which is best regarded as an example of a very early form of 'social drama') that, at the time when it was composed (apparently the latter part of the R̥gvedic period) such connections were coming to be regarded as incestuous, yet the very fact that this could be made the subject of a serious piece of composition with a 'moral' in it, shows that they were still not very rare; thus Yama (an early legendary hero selected for effective illustration) is made to say "verily there will come other ages wherein brothers will unite with sisters," etc., obviously referring to the practices current in the poet's generation, or at least those within the memory of his times. This is confirmed by other references³ of the same or earlier period, which can only mean that brother-sister connections and wooings were quite normal and recognized, in the Vedic priestly society at least; thus, a favourite god is appreciated for wooing his sister; the brother is classed with the husband or the paramour as a person normally approaching a woman; and for the sake of a son and heir, men may unite with their sisters; while in one of the Vedic marriage mantras⁴ union with an adorned 'jāmi' (sister) sitting among the fathers, is regarded as Viśvāvasu's birth-right, so that the context would suggest that the marriage being celebrated was also one between a 'jāmi' and

1 Cf. what is said about Svetaketu in Mbh. I, 122, 4724-35, and about Dirghatamas in ibid. 104, 4202 ff.

2 Rv. X, 10.

3 Rv. X, 162, 5; VI, 55, 4; Av. VIII, 6, 7; cf. Ait. Brā., the 'gāthā' in the Sunahṣepa legend. Vide infra.

4 Av. XIV, 2, 33.

her brother.¹ It seems probable, from the selection of Yama and Yamī as a type (in the above poem), and from Yamī's arguments, that twins were regarded in a superstitious primitive age as specially destined² for such relationship, more than other brothers and sisters.

The case of fathers and daughters is not equally clear; it is very early recognized as incestuous, but seems to have been once frequent, almost a permitted practice. Most of the references in the early Samhitās³ to this form of incestuous connexion are explained mythologically in the Brāhmaṇas.⁴ Still the fact remains that such a relationship serves as a simile or allegory, and is described in a manner that shows approval; and even alleged mythological features very often have a basis in primitive conditions, which the believers in those legends may have outgrown, or grow out of actual and traditional early events, to justify which legends are interwoven in course of time.⁵ The ascription of such connexions to Prajāpati and his daughter or Pūṣan and his mother,⁶ shows that the Vedic priest could still conceive of such relationships as not at all damaging to the prestige of his gods. But actual amours of this type were known: thus there is a plain reference to father-daughter connexions in the Av., which would show that these were common enough to be alluded to, and even presumed, in a domestic rite concerning women⁷; while in the Ait. Brā. a very old 'gāthā' is cited (in connection with the royal consecration and the Śunaśśepa story),⁸ where for the sake of sons men are said to unite with their mother and sister

¹ Vide infra. for the composite character of the marriage hymns.

² In Purāṇic tradition also, the twins of Uttara-Kuru are devoted married pairs all through life.

³ E.g. Rv. X, 61, 5-7.

⁴ Ait. Brā. III, 33, 5; Sat. Brā. I, 7, 4, 1; Pañc. Brā. VIII, 2, 10.

⁵ Cf. the legend of Vṛṣanāśva's daughter Menā (Rv. I, 51, 13 and in Brā's); Indra's applauded part in it seems to have been introduced to gloss over or justify an ancient brother-sister connexion (Indra plays a similar part in other legends of questionable morality); the Purāṇic inclusion of Menā in the 'pitṛ-kanyā' group (vide infra) apparently presupposes such a tradition of her incestuous connexion.

⁶ Rv. VI, 55, 5; (also Pūṣan and his sister; *ibid.* 4).

⁷ Av. VIII, 6, 7. The Atharva-vedic charms are mostly the products of stages of civilization earlier than the Rgvedic; but this particular one being included in part within the Rgveda also, must have represented more or less contemporary conditions; such conditions are regarded as normal amongst townspeople in the Jātakas; vide *infra*.

⁸ Ait. Brā. VII, 15; cf. Sāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. XV, 17-25. This 'gāthā' belongs at least to the 10th century B.C., while it refers to Harīścandra's time, about eight centuries before that according to Purāṇic tradition. For Purāṇic notices of incestuous unions in Aikṣvāka and other dynasties of that age, vide *infra*. The practice in this 'gāthā' however is advocated by ṛsis, before a rājanya.

as with a wife.¹ Such facts probably point to the ultimate origin of the practice² of 'appointing' a daughter to bear a son for the father, while remaining with him, such a son being regarded as the father's own son.³ The father-daughter connexion, as a more or less recognized practice or permissible license, could possibly have originated in a primitive, strongly patriarchal group, which, being still unsettled and raiding about, would at the same time have a minimum supply of women⁴; in such a case the essential sons,⁵ not ordinarily obtained, would come through the daughter. It is noteworthy that 'duhitṛ' primarily implies no connection with the father as such, but simply denotes woman as 'nourisher of a child' or 'potential mother.'⁶ With the passing of primitive conditions the daughter's position would change, and she would come to be "appointed" to bear a son for her father's family in an indirect way.

It does not clearly appear how far the practice of sister-marriage was the result of a similarly strong patriarchal and isolative tendency or that of an earlier matriarchal state of society amongst some at least of the Vedic tribes⁷: thus Yami's insistence on the point⁸ that Yama's conduct is unbrotherly, and for the sake of 'protection' and 'offspring' ('a grandson for their father') he should be her husband, is a patriarchal trait; on the other hand her marked initiative in the matter and bold wooing⁹ is a matriarchal one, while the position is reversed in other cases.¹⁰ The probability of the former condi-

1 The practice prevailed in ancient Irān (an important point, since Purāṇic tradition regards 'Irāṇic Aryans as subsequent offshoots of the Midland Aryans of India, amongst whom the Madras, Vāhtekas and other North Westerners had similar practices; cf. Mbh. VIII, 40; 44-5); also amongst the old Irish, according to Strabo (IV, 5, 4). For Purāṇic parallels, vide infra.

2 Rv. III, 31, 1. (This obscure passage seems to hint at that ultimate origin: 'pitā yatra duhitṛ seka rñjan, etc.'). The technical term 'putrikā' is post-Vedic (from Nir. and Sūtras onwards).

3 Gaut. Dh. Sū. XXVIII, 20 (a sūtra preserving much of older conditions).

4 But the above references to actual occurrences belong to a period when that hypothetical stage was certainly passed; they are therefore to be regarded as lingering survivals or as lapses into laxity in certain circles (cf. Purāṇic parallels infra.).

5 The desire for many sons is a most prominent early Vedic feature.

6 VI., I, 371.

7 It is to be remembered that (according to tradition) some of the Vedic tribes were originally Dravidian (non-Aīa), and they may have retained matriarchal features late into the R̥gvedic or even the Brāhmaṇa period.

8 Rv. X. 10. 9. 12. 1. 3.

9 Rv. X. 10. 1. 3. 5. 7. 9. 11. 13.

10 Rv. VI, 55, 4. (It is to be noted here that some of the sister-marriages in the Purāṇic dynastic lists are polygamic, while a few others seem to be polyandric, or show similar initiative of sister. Vide infra.).

tions is suggested by facts like these: The 'bhrātr' is not characterized by blood-relationship, but is primarily the 'supporter and master' of the 'svasr' and others¹; an external woman could be taken into a family as a 'svasr,' a sort of 'companion,'² to be thus supported; sister as a blood-relation ('jāmi-svasā,' and then only 'jāmi') is a later development, as shown by the adjectival use of 'jāmi'³; 'jñāti' means 'brother and sister' primarily, as being best acquainted with one another⁴; the disputed precedence (referred to in a Brā.) at ceremonial family meals, of the sister over the wife,⁵ probably points to a time when the sister had actually the place of the wife, in the family and its ritual; when the sister was no longer normally in that position, she was still supported and controlled (in her social and marriage relations) by the 'bhrātr.'⁶ On the other hand, there is some trace of the greater importance of the sister and the mother in earlier times: The sister's claim to precedence over the wife in family ritual is one indication⁷; the dread of the 'sister's curse'⁸ shows her early influence, probably as the original mistress of the family; she is the best 'jñāti' of the brother⁹; the 'putra'¹⁰ belonged specially to the 'mātr,'¹¹ and the mother is sometimes the 'bhartrī' or supporter of the family¹²; while old maids stay on in their mother's house, as well as in the father's or brother's¹³; 'mātārā'¹⁴ was enough to designate both parents, and the mother comes before the father in such early expressions as 'mātārā-pitārā' and 'mātā-pitārāh'¹⁵; some instances of the precedence of the mother in the family¹⁶ are found in later Vedic texts, but they are to be regarded as examples of survival of earlier conditions rather than as new developments; the use of metonymics, again,

1 For references, vide VI, I, 30; II, 113; 486; 495-96.

2 Rv. X, 108, 9.

3 For references, vide V.I., I, 284-85.

4 Rv. X, 117, 9.

5 Ait. Brā. III, 37.

6 Vide note 1 above.

7 Vide note 5 above.

8 Av. II, 10, 1 (=Taitt. Brā. II, 5, 6, 3); IX, 4, 15; II, 7, 2.

9 Vide note 4 above.

10 But 'sūnu' is specially associated with 'father' (Rv. I, 1, 9; etc.); cf. the vernacular idiom: 'mā' and 'po,' or 'put,' compared with 'bāp' and 'betā'; it seems as if 'put-ra' (put, po, polā, pilē) was originally a Dravidian word and hence associated in idiom with mother primarily.

11 Rv. X, 18, 11.

12 Av. V, 5, 2; Taitt. Brā. III, 1, 1, 4.

13 Av. I, 14, 2.

14 Rv. III, 33, 3; VII, 2, 5.

15 Rv. IV, 6, 7; Vāja. Sam. IX, 19; Taitt. Sam. I, 3, 10, 1; VI, 3, 11, 3.

16 Brhad. Upan. IV, 7, 5 (and in Sūtras sometimes).

though found mainly in later Vedic texts,¹ goes back to the Rgvedic period itself.²

The practice of polyandry is generally supposed³ to be un-Vedic; but though absolutely clear instances are not found in the Vedic texts, yet certain other customs of Vedic and post-Vedic society show evidently polyandric traits, so that the practice must have existed either side by side⁴ or at not a very remote age. It has been held that 'niyoga' has nothing to do⁵ with polyandry: but it would be more in accordance with natural development to recognize in it a later special case of an earlier general practice, by which the family continuity was assured by all the brothers having an uxor communis.⁶ The later 'niyoga' is clearly a legal fiction, not a new device, but a modification of a wider traditional or popular practice; and the custom that formed the basis of this 'reform' and theory, must have been a survival of polyandry and connected 'devr'-marriage. The later 'niyoga,' being a restriction, contemplated only the begetting of a son by the 'appointed' kinsman; but the Vedic 'devr'-marriage is not so confined: for, in the funeral rite, the son of the widow seems to be present, to receive his father's bow, etc.,⁷ and the 'didhiṣu' brother-in-law claims her as full wife with no limited object, but for love, progeny and property generally⁸; it is obvious that the main concern in this rite is a normal re-marriage of the widow, who oftener than not must have had borne sons already (the Vedic marriage being one between fully developed persons)⁹; besides, when the Vedic wife needs a son only, in the husband's absence or other circumstances, to continue his line, she can have the son through agencies other than the 'devr',¹⁰ though elsewhere she obtains her

¹ Naturally, as lists of teachers are supplied here; cf. the names of teachers in Brāṇ., Aran., and Upan.

² Rv. I, 147, 3; 152, 6; 158, 6; IV, 4, 13; cf. VI, 10, 2.

³ So most Vedic scholars except Mayr (Indisches Erbrecht); they usually take individual passages in consideration, and singly some of these may be given any interpretation.

⁴ Which is quite likely, considering that it is known as a special form to literature of almost every other period, and that it has survived down to the present day in a few districts.

⁵ So V.I.

⁶ Certain passages in the Vedic marriage-formulae may refer to this earlier custom and its object; vide infra.

⁷ Rv. X, 18, 9.

⁸ Av. XVIII, 3, 2=Rv. X, 18, 8.

⁹ Vide infra.

¹⁰ E.g. Purukutsāni obtaining a son during husband's imprisonment (Rv. IV, 42, 8, 9; Sat. Brā. XIII, 5, 4, 5; etc.); or Puramdhi-Vadhrimati in spite of husband's impotence (Rv. I, 116, 13; 117, 24; VI, 62, 7; X, 39, 7; cf. X, 65, 12). If this Purukutsa is the same as the Purukutsa of Purāṇic lists, then, however, Purukutsāni's son was apparently obtained through her 'devr' (vide infra.).

sons after widowhood by him¹; so also Manu, preserving and following no doubt an earlier tradition, applies the term 'didhiṣū-pati' to the brother-in-law married to his widowed sister-in-law not only for the sake of issue, but also for conjugal love, the widow being called 'didhiṣū' owing to the element of 'wooing' in her second marriage, which is recognized as a real one over and above 'niyoga'.² The 'didhiṣū' brother-in-law's immediate and acknowledged claim³ on the widowed sister-in-law, points to the likelihood of his having been looked upon as a possible (or even secondary) husband before widowhood. Instances of such view are frequent and clear in the Epic-Purāṇic tradition referring to the Vedic age⁴; so also in several passages of the marriage hymns the bride is described as 'devr-kāmā,' 'desiring union with brothers-in-law'.⁵ The epic tradition also shows that at the close of the Rgvedic age this preferential claim to the widow was not confined to the younger brother (as his elder's successor) but also belonged to an elder brother.⁶ Āśvalāyana's school preserves apparently a much earlier Vedic tradition according to which these rights belonged not only to brothers, but any other representative of the family, e.g. a pupil or a familiar slave.⁷ These facts indicate that one time several members of a family group, brothers or otherwise related, often had a common wife. Thus in some of the marriage-mantras there is scarcely any sense in the bride's being hailed as 'vīrasū devr-kāmā,' unless the marriage

¹ Rv. X, 18, 8; 40, 2; (the object of attainment of sons can only be inferred from "janitvam" in the former passage).

² Manu, III, 173. (The simile in Rv. X, 40, 2, shows clearly the 'didhiṣū' character of the widow, and the real marriage she contracts.)

³ Vide note 1 above; and Av. XVIII, 3, 2.; Taitt. Āraṇ. VI, 1, 3; Āśval. Grh. Sū. IV, 2, 18.

⁴ Cf. the attitude of Bṛhaspati towards Mamātā, and Puṣkara towards Damayantī (vide *infra* for fuller details).

⁵ Rv. X, 85, 44; Av. XIV, 2, 17, 18, etc.; vide n. 8, p. 80.

⁶ E.g. in the case of Bhīṣma and the widows of Vicitravīrya (vide *infra*).

⁷ Āśval. Grh. Sū. IV, 2, 18. The inclusion of the 'pupil' shows that the custom was specially brāhmanic: the famous Svetaketu was begotten by a 'pupil' (vide *infra*); the eligibility of the 'dāsa' for such connections is illustrated in both brāhmanic and non-brāhmanic circles, in early as well as subsequent periods: cf. the Yv. reference to connexions between Sūdras and Ārya women; the epic story of the sage Mataṅga's parentage; the Greek accounts about the Nandas, and similar references to pre-Buddhist court scandals in the Midlands in the Jātakas; and Vāts. Kā. Sū. V, 6, 12, re. 'dāsa' connexions in the harems, referring to post-Mauryan and probably earlier court customs. The commentator on this last distinguishes 'dāsa' from 'ceta' as 'born in the family' and 'external' respectively; the 'dāsa' of Āśval. Gr. Sū. may therefore be such a 'dāsa,' related to the deceased by blood, and hence a good substitute for a brother. (Probably 'jara-dāsa' would be a better reading than 'jarad-dāsa'; or 'jarat' is to be taken as meaning 'hymn-uttering,' poetic and scholarly, i.e., as learned as the master; the sense of 'old and senile' would be absurd in their context).

referred to in those passages is taken to be a polyandric one, where the eldest of the co-bridgrooms so addresses the bride, alluding to her other secondary husbands, together with whom ("we") he hopes to thrive with her¹; the Vedic marriage-hymns obviously do not represent any single standard type of marriage, but are more correctly a collection of mantras of different origins,² referring to more than one form of marriage,³ among which the polyandric is apparently included; so also, in some of the consummation mantras "we" and "men" or "husbands" in relation to the bride may very well refer to these 'devr' s 'desired by the bride' along with the chief bridegroom.⁴ In fact the 'sādhārāṇī' wife seems to be directly referred to in the R̥gveda,⁵ where the Maruts are described as enjoying their 'common' and eager associate Rodasī, who, with dishevelled tresses and mind devoted to her lords, woos them to unite with her, like Sūryā mounting the car of the two Aśvins,—references to which again, are frequent in Rv. Specific historical instances indeed are not named (as they are in the Epic-Purāṇic tradition⁶ regarding Vedic conditions); but a few passages⁷ probably refer to the practice, specially those where husbands are mentioned in relation to a single wife,⁸—in most of which grammatical or mythological explanations are inadequate⁹; thus all that is said about the three previous husbands of every bride, in the marriage hymns¹⁰ and elsewhere,¹¹ is best understood as a relic of a gradually disused custom of polyandry, which was transformed into an allegory, most probably

¹ Av. XIV, 2, 17.18; 1, 39; Rv. X, 85, 44; cf. note 8 below.

² Probably often misapplied by the later Sūtras; the variant reading 'deva-kāmā' shows an attempt at conscious emendation.

³ E.g. polygamy in Av. XIV, 2, 52; vide infra.

⁴ Cf. n. 1, p. 11 and Av. XIV, 2, 14.38; Rv. X, 85, 37 ('we' and 'men'); 38 (patibhyo jāyām).

⁵ Rv. I, 167, 4.5.

⁶ Vide infra.

⁷ Cf. note 5 above; and Rv. VIII, 17, 7 (janirivābhisamvṛtaḥ). In Rv. VII, 33, 13, the legend deriving the Vāsiṣṭhas and Agastyas from a common mother 'Urvaśī' and Mitra and Varuṇa (though based on an early misunderstanding of names) shows that eminent ṛṣi families regarded sharing of a wife by two persons as nothing unseemly; so also, the above reference to 'sādhārāṇī' wife comes from an 'Agastya' ṛṣi. With this may be compared the well-known and much misunderstood Purāṇic tradition of the Bhāradvajas and other brāhmaṇa gotras being 'dvāmuṣyāyaṇas' by origin (vide infra). The biandry in the Mitravaruṇa legend has other parallels in the Epics.

⁸ Rv. X, 85, 37.38; Av. XIV, 1, 44.52.61; 2, 14.27. cf. n. 3, p. 81. Also Av. II, 36, 6.7, where a maiden is 'given unto husbands' (vide infra).

⁹ 'Majestas causa': Weber: Ind. Stud. 5, 191; 'generic': Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 326; 'mythological': Delbrück: Ind. Ver. 543.

¹⁰ Rv. X, 85, 40.41=Av. XIV, 2, 3.4.

¹¹ Av. 17, 2, for other Brā. Sūt. and quotations, vide Whitney, Av. p. 754.

representing the life stages of a maiden till marriage¹; fathers-in-law are mentioned several times in a similar way²; but it is uncertain whether polyandry is referred to in any one instance; there is however less of uncertainty where at a sacrifice³ the wife is described as 'having noble husbands'; her evident importance and the fertility ritual which includes her denuding and wetting in the presence and with the help of the conductors of the sacrifice, are probably indications that the rite was originally performed by the joint husbands of a common wife; so also, a polyandric family custom is very likely referred to in a group of charms (used to get marriageable maidens happily settled),⁴ two of which admonish the girl to 'turn her right side to all the responsive suitors,' and 'give her unto husbands.'⁵ The striking customs of using metronymics (in early as well as later Vedic literature) may have originated as much (or even more) in a practice of polyandry and laxity among brāhman women,⁶ with resultant uncertainty of paternity, as in that of polygamy⁷; the former view, moreover, is supported by the R̥gvedic case of Māmatya,⁸ the epic case of Draupadeya,⁹ and the later Vedic case of Jābāla,¹⁰ amongst others. It may be noted in this connection that the occasional precedence and economic independence of the mother seem to be indicated in some Vedic texts.¹¹

¹ Vide infra.

² Rv. X, 95, 12; Av. XIV, 2, 27; Kāth. Sam. XII, 12.

³ Taitt. Sam III, 5, 6.

⁴ Av. II, 36; the two passages are vv. 6.7. As with the collection of marriage-mantras, here too, the charms for securing the marriage of girls apparently refer to different marriage customs; thus v. 5 refers to securing a lover on a ferry-boat (cf. the well-known epic case of Satyawati and the Kṛṣṇite tradition), v. 1 to love-choice at 'Samanas', v. 3 to polygamic and v. 4 to monogamic marriages; so that vv. 6, 7 may very well refer to polyandric marriage. This is followed by 'so that she might find one after her wish,' which apparent contradiction seems only to mean that the chances are that she will find at least one agreeable husband among those to whom she is given: a naïve defence of the custom surely!

⁵ In Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 6, 6, it is said that as women love singers, so if there is a singer in a family, men give their daughters in marriage with that family, even if there be others in plenty: this however may be interpreted in different ways, though a reference to polyandry is possible. The parallel of the Pāṇḍava polyandry, where Draupadī was so given in marriage chiefly on account of Arjuna's attainments (musical included) is remarkable.

⁶ As shown in priestly as well as non-priestly literature (vide infra).

⁷ As supposed by Keith in Ait. Aran. 244, n. 2. Metronymics may also partly have been due to Niyoga (as in the well-known epic instances) or to the reputation of women teachers (as in Brāh. and Upan. sometimes); there may be in the custom a trace of matriarchal society, for it is gradually becoming clear that the brāhmanic priesthood was originally extra-Āryan (vide infra).

⁸ Rv. I, 147, 3, etc.

⁹ Vide Sōr. Index, s.v.

¹⁰ Chānd. Upan. IV, 4. 1.2.4; cf. Sat. Brā. X, 3, 3, 1, etc.

¹¹ (Vide p. 77, and n. 10-16 there); cf. similar indications in the Epic-Purāṇic stories about Bharadvāja and Dirghatamas (vide infra).

Widow-burning was practised among many primitive Indo-Germanic races in Asia and Europe,¹ and it can only be expected to have existed among the early Indo-Āryans in some form or other. But the Vedic literature shows very few traces of such a custom: partly no doubt because these texts are priestly in character, and widow-burning is known to have prevailed elsewhere mainly amongst the non-priestly warrior families; and partly because even amongst the ruling classes, cases of widow-burning were rare (and prevented) throughout the Vedic period,—as shown by authentic Kṣatriya dynastic traditions²; while in the 'brāhman' society sex-relations seem to have been too lax to admit of the prevalence of such a practice.³

The hymns of domestic ceremonial and magic in the 10th Book do not properly belong to the R̥gveda, as their position amply shows; they must have been selected and abridged from an older and better recension of the Atharvaveda or a corresponding collection of traditional 'social' lore (as opposed to 'sacrificial'). If, therefore, widow-burning is not referred to as an ancient custom in the Rv., whereas it is in the corresponding sections of the Av.,⁴ it does not prove anything beyond this, that the compiler of the former chose to omit certain passages in his abridgment.⁵ The full passage in the Av.,⁶ which constitutes an unit (while the selection in the Rv.⁷ is rather abrupt), refers first⁸ to the voluntary self-immolation of the widow as her 'dharma' (ancient customary duty), but treats her 'lying down by the departed' as only a *formal* fulfilment of the old custom (though some attempts must have been genuine),—this 'lying beside' being supposed to 'assign her progeny and property,' by something like a legal fiction⁹; the next verse¹⁰ makes this attainment

¹ Herodotos : IV. 71 (Scythian); V. 5 (Thracian); Porcopius (De Bello Gothico) : II. 14 (Gothic); Weinhold : Altnord. Leb., 476 ff. (German); cf. Zimmer : Alt. Leb., 331.

² Vide infra.—On general grounds it has been supposed (cf. VI. 1, 488-9, and Zimmer : Alt. Leb. 331) that even amongst the Kṣatriyas the practice could not have been universal, owing to the wastefulness of burning all wives of kings, and the necessity of sparing even the chief wife. This is amply borne out by 'tradition,' where cases are known of transfers of the harems, and even of the principal wives of princes to their successors, related or otherwise (vide infra for details).

³ Thus no 'brāhmaṇic' case of 'suttee' is known to Purāṇic tradition (Various instances of such laxity have been referred to in these pages.)

⁴ Av. XVIII, 3, 1-3, perhaps also 4.

⁵ Cf. similar abridgment in the wedding hymn.

⁶ Av. XVIII, 3, 1-3.

⁷ Rv. X, 18, 8.

⁸ Av. XVIII, 3, 1.

⁹ This formal ritual and legal fiction seems to have given rise to the ballad of Vyūṣitāśva's wife (in its present form) in the Mbh, (vide infra).

¹⁰ Av. XVIII, 3, 2.

of 'progeny and property' possible, by transferring the widow as 'wife' to her 'didhiṣu' who grasps her hand (raising and leading her away); the 'didhiṣu' then expresses satisfaction¹ at having saved 'a young woman, enclosed with blind darkness, and led about, living, for the dead.' Evidently widow-burning was a defunct custom at this time, represented only by a ritual 'semblance,' and positively prevented from being renewed in any way by an immediate re-marriage. It is possible that the expressions in the last passage may refer to burning of the widow by relatives, who led her about blindfolded; but this contradicts the first statement regarding the widow's own choice; in any case the rite is deliberately prevented; probably only one of these contradictory passages was meant to accompany the other (about re-marriage), according as² the particular case was one of voluntary or involuntary 'suttee'; or, the expressions in question might simply be figurative, describing the grief-stricken and helpless state of the young widow.

It follows from all this that in Vedic society women of child-bearing age did not normally remain widows for any length of time, being almost immediately re-married³; this is probably the force of 'ime avidhavāḥ supatnīḥ'⁴ in the same funeral hymn; and it accounts for the rare occurrence of 'vidhavā' as such,⁵ beside the mention of other widows going to be re-married ('gartāruh')⁶ or actually re-married ('punarbhū').⁷

The widow often married her brother-in-law and had children by him⁸; this was however not a restricted 'niyoga' in the later sense, as the widow's hand is taken formally, not only for offspring but also for property⁹; and she approaches the 'devī' as an ordinary young maiden her lover. It is

¹ Ibid. 3. The Sūtra application of this verse to a cow that is killed on the occasion is incredible; v. 4 seems to give social sanction to the act in v. 3; 'gópātī' is prob. intended as a pun on 'goptr' and 'pātī.'

² So also in the marriage hymns, all the mantras apparently do not apply to one type of marriage.

³ Thus there was nothing unusual in Epic-Purāṇic cases like that of Ugrāyudha (Pāñcāla) wanting to marry the widow of Santanu (Kuru), even before the funeral was over (vide infra),—for that was precisely the custom.

⁴ Av. XVIII, 3, 57; Rv. X, 18, 7.

⁵ Rv. IV, 18, 12; X, 40, 2; Śadvim. Brā. III, 7; 'vidavā,' (like the masc. form 'vidhava,'—prob. Rv. X, 40, 8) would thus seem only to have designated persons in the temporary condition of bereavement, and not in a permanent state of husbandlessness.

⁶ Rv. I, 124, 7 (cf. Nir. III, 5.)

⁷ Av. IX, 5, 28.

⁸ Cf. n. 1, p. 79.

⁹ Vide n. 10, p. 82.

again not necessarily a 'devr' who marries her but anyone who might be a 'didhiṣu'¹; the widow herself is 'didhiṣū'² indicating some exercise of choice on her part, while her second husband is called 'didhiṣu-pati',² and the son of such marriage between two pre-eminently 'didhiṣu (°ṣū)' persons, 'daidhiṣavya'.² In fact in other references to widow re-marriage nothing is said about restriction to the first husband's kin or household; in one of them³ the previous husband is sought to be ignored altogether, and connexion with him cut off in the next world by magical charms,—showing that the 'punarbhū' is here married into a totally different family; in another,⁴ a woman might have several husbands one after another, of 'vaiśya,' 'rājanya' or 'brāhmaṇa' castes.

It appears that apart from regular widow re-marriages, women could also re-marry on disappearance of the husband⁵ or in other circumstances in his life-time⁶; and of the ten previous husbands of the widow whom the Atharvavedic brāhmaṇa is willing to marry as her eleventh and best husband,⁷ several must have either left her or been discarded by her for various lawful reasons. The number of re-marriages permissible is nowhere laid down⁸: the custom of 'devr'-marriage is no proof for one re-marriage only, for similar transferences may well have occurred more than once; the rite to secure reunion in heaven with the present husband rather than the previous,⁹ if at all believed to be effective, would imply similar safeguarding of every fresh re-marriage; while it is remarkable that in a passage intended to glorify the 'brāhmaṇa',¹⁰ he should be described as willing to be the best husband of a much married widow.¹¹

1 (Vide n. 10, p. 82.) This is taken in the Sūtras to include the 'devr' and other representatives of the husband, like pupil or slave (vide ante). The older Dh. Sūtras (often embodying later Vedic custom) recognize fully the ordinary widow re-marriage (without restriction of sphere).

2 Cf. Manu : III, 173; St. Pet. Dict., s.v. 'didhiṣu,' 3; also 'daidhiṣavya' : Taitt. Sam. III, 2, 4, 4; Kāt. Śr. Sūt. II, 1, 22; Kanś. Sūt. 3, 5: 137, 37.

3 Av. IX, 5, 28.

4 Av. V, 17, 8.9.

5 Rv. VI, 49, 8.

6 Av. IX, 5, 27.28, may also refer to such re-marriage (owing to first husband being fallen or impotent); cf. Baudh. Dh. Sūt. II, 2, 3, 27.

7 Vide n. 4 above.

8 It is possible, that the allegory of 3 previous husbands of every bride reflects also (vide p. 80, n. 10 and 11, and p. 81, n. 1) a contemporary view of the average number (4) of re-marriages allowed.

9 Vide n. 3 above.

10 Vide n. 4 above.

11 Which, it is said, was 'well-known to the 5 (Mānava) races'; this is quite in agreement with the known facts, Vedic and Epic-Purāṇic, regarding the character of brāhmaṇa society (vide infra).

Neither of the two different views represented by Zimmer¹ and Weber,² regarding the comparative prevalence of monogamy and polygamy in the Vedic age, seems to be a full explanation of the facts. Thus it cannot be maintained that monogamic relations were the normal and prevalent characteristic, for deviations on either side are not rare: e.g., 'sapatnī' is found quite early and often³; and apart from indications of polyandry⁴ and other references to paramours,⁵ it is presumed by a domestic ritual formula in the Rv. that every married woman might have her 'jāra,'⁶—with which may be compared similar presumptions in the Yv. and Brā.^o-ritual⁷; this is also confirmed by the remarkable Epic-Purāṇic traditions regarding Svetaketu and Dirghatamas' reforms, which would show that amongst the earlier generations of the Vedic priestly society at least, the women were often not 'monogamous.'⁸ So again, polygamy, instead of dying out in the early Vedic age, is found all through, and seems to be rather on the increase, preparing the way for a greater laxity and corruption in the succeeding age. Thus 'Manu' himself is credited with ten wives⁹; Cyavāna one of the earliest ṛsis married a number of maidens in old age,¹⁰ and so did Kākṣivānt the Pajrīya¹¹ in the latter part of the R̥gvedic age; while the Vedic prince and his priest who could give and receive scores of slave-girls as wives,¹² were no doubt living in an age of flourishing polygamy. Cases of polygamy (amongst ṛsis, princes, or even non-Āryan chiefs) are indeed often referred to in the R̥gveda¹³: in some of which the relations between the several wives (from 2 to at least 8) and the husband ('ekah samānaḥ') are ideally

1 Zimmer: *Alt. Leb.* 323.

2 Weber: *Ind. Stud.* 5, 222.

3 Rv. III, 1, 10; 6, 4; cf. I, 105, 8; X, 145, 1. 2. 5; (besides Av. frequently).

4 Vide ante.

5 Vide infra.

6 Rv. X, 162, 5. 6=Av. VIII, 6, 7. 8.

7 The wife's questioning and confession: *Mait. Sam.* I, 10, 11; *Taitt. Sam.* I, 8, 3; *Taitt. Brā.* I, 6, 5, 2; *Sat. Brā.* II, 5, 2, 20.

8 Vide n. 1, p. 74.

9 *Mait. Sam.* I, 5, 8. (Vide infra for Purāṇic notices of the polygamy of Manu and his descendants).

10 Rv. I, 116, 10; (with *Sat. Brā.* IV, 1, 5, 1 ff; 10, 13; *Jaim. Brā.* III, 121 ff); cf. V, 74, 5; and allusions to above in I, 117, 13; 118, 6; VII, 68, 6; 71, 5; X, 39, 4. (These 'kani's and 'vadhū's were over and above the famous princess Sukanyā).

11 Rv. I, 126, 3 (10 'vadhūmant' cars from Svanaya); cf. I, 51, 13 (Vrcayā in old age).

12 Rv. VIII, 19, 36. (Trasadasyu-Paurukutsa and Sobhari-Kāṇva may belong to the earlier part of the R̥gvedic age; but Pargiter places them in the latter part, distinguishing 2 Paurukutsas and 2 Trasadasyus).

13 Rv. I, 62, 11; 71, 1; 104, 3; 105, 8; 112, 19; 186, 7; VII, 18, 2; 26, 3; X, 43, 1; 101, 11; (It is remarkable that almost all these references to polygamy come from Āṅgīrasa and Vāsiṣṭha ṛsis). Cf. other references in Av. and Yv.: e.g. Av. III, 4; etc., *Taitt. Sam.* VI, 5, 1, 4; etc.

happy, while in others they are recognized as painful. The circumstances of conquest and settlement, and consequent prosperity of the priesthood, must have made polygamy a common thing. It is significant that in the Rv. 'dāsa' is primarily the enemy and only secondarily 'a slave,'¹ but that 'dāsi' is all along the 'slave-girl' from the Av. onwards²; this would show that the first slaves were the captured Dāsa women, slave-concubinage developing quite early side by side with the Aryan conquest.³ In the later Samhitās the slave woman is also called 'śūdrā'⁴ (probably originally a term of racial significance like 'dasi')⁵ and such a 'śūdrā' often rose in the favour of her Āryan master⁶ who must have had his Āryan wife or wives.⁷ The earlier Brāhmaṇas directly ascribe 'śūdrā' or 'dāsi' concubinage to eminent 'ṛṣi' families (Rgvedic as well as more or less contemporary ones), and a 'dāsi- (or śūdrā-) putra,' though subject to natural comments, was nevertheless common enough to be assigned the same position as other ṛṣis and teachers.⁸ In the Rgvedic texts themselves, female slaves are frequently presented to ṛṣis by their patron princes; thus King Trasadasyu⁹ bestowed fifty of them as 'vadhū's on Sobhari-Kāṇva¹⁰; and in other cases, presents of horses, camels or buffaloes, are embellished by such 'vadhū' slaves along with them¹¹; while chariots are described as full of slave-girls.¹² The number of slave-girls kept in single establishments in no way diminished in the next age: thus the Satapatha knows of as many as four hundred 'anucari's¹³; and (even) in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads

1 Rv. VII, 86, 7; VIII, 56, 3; X, 62, 10; prob. I, 92, 8; 158, 5; VIII, 46, 32; cf. Av. IV, 9, 8.

2 Av. V, 22, 6; XII, 3, 13; 4, 9; Chānd. Upan. V, 13, 2; Brhad. Upan. VI, 1, 10.

3 Which was probably over before the later Samhitās and Brā°, for they do not refer to any Ārya-Dāsa wars, but only to Aryan wars (vide V.I., II, 65).

4 Av. V, 22, 7; Taitt. Sam. VII, 4, 19, 3; Kāth. Sam. (Āśvamedha), IV, 8; Mait. Sam. III, 13, 1; Vāja. Sam. XXIII, 30; etc.

5 Vide V.I., II, 392.

6 Vide Yv. references in note 4 above.

7 Who also had connexions with Śūdra slaves: Vāja. Sam. XXIII, 31.

8 E.g. Kākṣivānt, son of a slave-girl: Brhad. IV, 11-15; 21-25; with Rv. I, 18, 1; 112, 11; 140-164 (cf. Pañc. Brā. XIV, 11, 16); Kavaṣa, 'dāsyāḥ putraḥ': Ait. Brā. II, 19, 1; Kauṣ. Brā. XII, 1, 3; (Kavaṣa was a Rgvedic ṛṣi); Vatsa, 'śūdrā-putra' (a Kāṇva): Pañc. Brā. XIV, 6, 6; cf. Satyakāma Jabāla (about 150 years after the compilation of the Rv.): Chānd. Upan. IV, 4, 1 ff., etc.; also in Brhad. Upan., Ait. Brā. and Sat. Brā. (vide details of ref. in V.I., II, 420).

9 Rv. VIII, 19, 36. Cf. V, 47, 6 ('vadhū's').

10 Sons by slave-concubines was a special feature in the Kāṇva groups: vide V.I., II, 238.

11 Rv. VIII, 68, 17; VI, 27, 8; Av. XX, 127, 2.

12 Rv. I, 126, 3; VII, 18, 22. (These 'vadhū's however might be 'slaves' as well as free, from the context).

13 Sat. Brā. XIII, 5, 4, 27.

the King is attended by five hundred fair women carrying perfumed powders, etc.¹ The presence, increase and distribution of slave women was thus a fertile source of polygamy among princes and priests alike.²

Apart from this possession of slave-girls, the princes had at least³ four principal wives recognized in regal ceremonial and rites, of whom the fourth, the 'pālāgali,' seems to be a comparatively later development,—or to have been given a place in the ritual somewhat later—in the Brāhmaṇa age; the 'mahiṣī' and the 'parivṛktī' occur from the R̥gveda onwards⁴; and though the 'vāvātā' first occurs in the Av.,⁵ she is implied by the 'parivṛktī'; the 'pālāgali,' wife of the King is an indication that it was a political marriage,⁷ and that daughters of other and higher court officials also were customarily taken into his harem from similar original motives⁸; the first three designations are essentially relative, and pre-suppose a regular harem-establishment, the members of which experienced constant rises and falls ('parivṛktī') in power at court

1 Kauṣ. Upan. I, 4; and corr. passage in Sāṅkh. Āraṇ.

2 Vide Purāṇic parallels infra.

3 The King's many wives are referred to in Rv. VII, 18, 2 ('rājēva hi janibhiḥ'); probably 'kṣṇibhiḥ' in Rv. X, 9b, 9, refers to Purūravas' other wives besides Ūrvaśī; cf. Rv. II, 16, 3 (Indra's 'indriya' not overcome by his 'kṣṇis').

4 'Maḥiṣī': Rv. V, 2, 2; 37, 3; Av. II, 36, 3; Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 9, 1; Mait. Sam. II, 6, 5; Kāth. Sam. XV, 4; Taitt. Brā. III, 9, 4, 4; Pañc. Brā. XIX, 1, 4; Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 4; VI, 5, 3, 1, 6; XII, 2, 6, 4; 1, 8; 5, 2, 2. 5. 9; 'parivṛktī,' etc.: Rv. X, 102, 11; Av. VII, 113, 2; XX, 128, 10. 11; Kāth. Sam. X, 10; XV, 4; Taitt. Sam. I, 8, 9, 1; Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 3, 4; Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 13; XIII, 2, 6, 6; 4, 1, 8; 5, 2, 7.

5 Av. XX, 128, 10.11; subsequently in Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 3, 3; III, 9, 4, 4; Ait. Brā. III, 22; Sat. Brā. XIII, 2, 6, 5; 4, 18; 5, 2, 6; in fact the Yv. ceremonial presupposes these 4 chief queens.

6 Pālāgali: Taitt. Brā. I, 7, 3, 3 ff; III, 9, 4, 5; Sat. Brā. XIII, 4, 1, 8; Sāṅkh. Śr. Sūt. XVI, 4, 4.

7 She is the daughter of the lowest court official, probably the chief 'pālāgala' (messenger or spy) (Sat. Brā. V, 3, 1, 11), whose function is aptly described as bearing false news; the motive of taking such an officer's daughter in the harem is quite clear; and as the 'lowest' officer's daughter is a queen, other officers' daughters also must have been favoured, as indeed is evident from the numerous companions of the 4 chief wives (present at the horse-sacrifice) belonging to different ranks. Cf. Aśvamedha sections of Yv. Samhitās.

8 Vide n. 7 above. This is illustrated in Epic tradition also; thus Sumitrā the 'parivṛktī' wife of Daśaratha was the 'purohita' Vāmadeva's daughter by a 'vaiśyā'), and one of (the Matsya king) Virāṭa's queens was a sister of his commander-in-chief Kicaka. In later literature 'Mahāmātra-sutā's are often taken into the royal harems (cf. Vāts. Kā. Sūt.). The 'vaiśyā wife' so often mentioned in Epic-Purāṇic tradition, is probably the daughter of the 'Grāmaṇī' of the king's court, while the 'śūdrā wife' is the daughter of the Pālāgala or lowest court official, the spy-messenger.

(' mahiṣī ') or in personal favour with the prince (' vāvātā ').¹ Such rise and fall is well depicted in the chief wife's song of triumph,² where she congratulates herself on the dawn of her fortunes, subjugation of rival wives and influence over the heroic lord with whom her name stands highest, and through whom she rules all the people,—on her sons rising to the rank of mighty warriors and daughters to that of princesses.

This threefold classification seems to have been a general one, and not confined to consorts of princes: thus a domestic mantra wishes that a maiden might after marriage become a mother of sons, and thereby become a ' mahiṣī ' ;³ while the rivalry between the ' vāvātā ' and ' parivṛktī ' wives forms the subject of many other domestic magical rites.⁴ Three wives then would appear to have been a common average, almost a minimum for the Vedic polygamist householder, though two wives are mentioned once in the Rv.⁵; so also, in some early Brāhmaṇas, mention is made of the sons of one's father's eldest wife and youngest wife (' jaṣṭhineya ' and ' kāṇiṣṭhineya ').⁶ In a passage of the marriage hymns several young maidens are said to be eagerly proceeding to a husband's home from their father's (or fathers'),⁷ where the reference evidently is to one man marrying several sisters or otherwise related women at the same time. With the Yajurvedic brāhmaṇ indeed, " many wives " was an apparently established custom.⁸ Of a man's several wives one at least must often have been the widow of a brother or kinsman, from the customary character of such transference.⁹ Apart from these regular wives, the example of slave-concubinage amongst princes and their client priests¹⁰ must have influenced ordinary society; the references to Ārya-Śūdrā unions in the Yv. Samhitās is rather general, and might imply that slave-women were glad to be wives of *any* Ārya whether rich or poor¹¹ (for obvious advantages); the employment of ' dāsī ' s or

1 Here also the Epics afford interesting illustration, e.g. in the changing relations between Daśaratha's 3 wives and Kṛṣṇa's many wives (at least two of whom were ' mahiṣī ' by turns, and 3 ' vāvātā ').

2 Rv. X, 159.

3 Av. II, 36, 3.

4 Av. III, 18; VII, 35; Rv. X, 145.

5 Rv. X, 101, 11.

6 Taitt. Brā. II, 1, 8, 1; Pañc. Brā. II, 1, 2; XX, 5, 2.

7 Av. XIV, 2, 52.

8 Taitt. Sam. VI, 5, 1, 4 (tasmāt eko vahvīr jāyā vindate).

9 Vide ante.

10 Vide ante.

11 For when a Śūdrā became the beloved of her Ārya lord, she did not care about wealth, etc.: vide Aśvamedha sections of Yv. Samhitās (and n. 6, p. 86).

'śūdrā's as 'anūcarī's and 'pariveśtrī's¹ must have become a common item of style; even the ordinary brāhmaṇ sacrificer, while placing five conical bricks² on his fire-altar, hoped to obtain in the next world five fair 'asparas'es as his personal attendants, bodyguards and 'embracers,'³—evidently the heavenly counterparts of his humbler establishment; it is also probable that already in the Vedic marriage the 'nyocanī'⁴ refers to a companion slave-girl given away along with the bride,—a very ancient custom ascribed to some of the earliest royal marriages in Epic-Purāṇic tradition.⁵

While however 'a general prevalence of monogamy' or the 'dying out of polygamy' are not borne out by such facts and indications, it is reasonable to hold that as polygamy must always, in the absence of universal regulations, be secondary with communities, tending to appear or disappear according to variation of circumstances, it has had this history in ancient India. Thus it* may well have existed in the primitive tribal stage of the Āryans, when large numbers of women of subordinated kindred or enemy groups may have been transferred to mighty horde-leaders or patriarchs⁶; it would develop with the extermination or assimilation of the Dāsas⁷ of the plains in the early Vedic period; it would become a fashion subsequently with the growth of an opulent ruling nobility and their favoured priesthood,⁸ or be inevitable with the progress of internecine fighting⁹; it may have been adopted in the earliest times from pre-existing non-Āryan princes and priests.¹⁰ But between these secondary developments of the Vedic age a monogamistic tendency seems to have

1 Vide n. 13, p. 86; Sat. Brā. XI, 2, 7, 4; Kauṣ. Upan. II, 1; Keith : Sāṅkh. Aram., 21, n. 2.

2 A curious parallel to this association of ideas is to be found in the "barī"-wives of 'baby' in Bengali household idiom.

3 Taitt. Sām. V, 3, 7, etc.

4 Av. XIV, 1, 7=Rv. X, 85, 6; being classed with 'anudeyī,' it must mean companion-maid (represented by the 'jhi' or 'dāsi' of even modern times), rather than any ornament or special type of song.

5 E.g. Sarmisthā and her maids given away to Yayāti along with Devayāni; or similar gifts in the case of Draupadi and Subhadra's marriages. Vide infra.

6 The case of Manu's 10 wives would fall under this head; for Purāṇic instances of the polygamy of such early chiefs (like Dakṣa, Kaśyapa, Manu, Ikṣvāku, etc.) vide infra.

7 Cf. pp. 85—87 above.

8 Cf. pp. 85—87 above.

9 This is fully illustrated by Epic-Purāṇic instances: vide infra.

10 This probability becomes almost a certainty when some of the 'traditional' instances of polygamy are critically viewed: vide infra.

been always present,¹ and the persistence of this ideal is discernible through all the fluctuations of subsequent periods. In this matter indeed, ancient Indian society has developed and changed unfettered by any external commandment or ruling (unlike society in Europe and the Middle East, where a monogamic and a polygamic character, respectively, has practically been imposed by Christianity and Islam); and prevalence of polygamy or monogamy for any particular period or region has depended on various communal, economic and political conditions, and the state of public opinion or individual ideals. Thus it is intelligible how side by side with instances of polygamy and laxity, monogamy is evidently approved in the Rgveda as an ideal²; constancy of conjugal affections is earnestly sought for equally by men and women³; while a large portion of the wedding-hymns (scarcely surpassed by any other nuptial formulæ for simple yet noble ideas) regard the marriage-tie with reverence, and, practically ignoring polygamy, emphasise mutual conjugal fidelity, poetically typified⁴ in the 'cakravākā' pair.

- 1 Cf. the use of 'patni' in the singular; and the recognition of only one full wife in ritual (patni) or at royal court (mahisī).
- 2 Rv. I, 124, 7; IV, 3, 2; X, 71, 4; etc. (apart from the marriage hymns).
- 3 E.g. Av. II, 30, 2, 5; 36, 4; VI, 139; VII, 36; 37; 38; cf. VI, 102; 130; 131; 132; (apart from the marriage hymns).
- 4 Av. XIV, 2, 64.

FEATURES OF THE NORMAL MARRIAGE-FORMS

The Vedic marriage is a natural and a real one, with little of the rigidity and artificiality of the later 'Hindu' forms. The only possible (?) reference to an early marriage is in an Upaniṣad, where a poor brāhman teacher adopts the life of a beggar with his 'ātiki' wife¹: the medieval commentators give 'ātiki' a fanciful special sense,—of 'ajāta-payodharā, etc.,'—which evidently reflects their own dislike² of the idea that a brāhman teacher's youthful wife should go about freely; if it is not a proper name, and has to be taken as an adjective, the only rational sense would be 'fit for or used to a wandering life,' i.e., hardy and patient³. Child-wives are first mentioned in the Sūtras⁴; and there the gradual growth of the practice may be clearly traced, from its beginnings in the time of Āśval. and Hiraṇ. Sūtras onwards; even then child-marriage had not become a general rule.⁵ This 'legal' Sūtra evidence is borne out by the (post-Mauryan) Vāts. 'Kāma'-Sūtra, which ignores child-marriages altogether, recognizing in special cases juvenile attachments and wooings only.⁶ It seems probable that this subsequent cropping up and development of child-marriage as a practice was due to a certain amount of insecurity of society⁷ in the earlier and latter parts of the 'Sūtra period,' between cir. 550 and 320 B.C., and from 220 B.C. onwards, as a result of Persian and Macedonian conquests, and Graeco-Bactrian, Parthian, Scythic and Kuṣāṇ invasions, respectively.⁸

In the earlier Vedic period, the obligatory marriage of a girl, before a certain age, and irrespective of all other considerations, was unknown.⁹ Thus, forward younger sisters

¹ Chānd. Upan. I, 10, 1.

² Acquired in dissimilar social and political circumstances.

³ The S.B.E. however, adopts the view of the commentators. It seems permissible to see in 'ātiki' a reference to 'itinerant' women teachers (married or otherwise; vide infra.), who are also well known to Epic-Purāṇic tradition. Cf. the Vedic 'Itant' or 'Ita' ṛsis and the 'yāyāvara's.

⁴ Cf. Jolly: *Recht und Sitte*: 59; Hopkins: *J. Am. Or. S.*, 13, 340 ff; 23, 356.

⁵ Bhāṇḍārkar: *Z.D.M.G.* 47, 143-156 (in review of Jolly: *ibid.* 46, 413-426).

⁶ Cf. specially, Vāts. Kā. Sūt. III, *re* "wooing of the 'kanyā'."

⁷ It is well-known that early marriage became general in medieval India largely owing to the Mahomedan occupation of the country.

⁸ Subsequently, however, child-marriage must have fallen into disuse, specially during the Gupta period (as the evidence of Gupta literature generally shows); it would revive again with the collapse of Indian polity before the invasions of the 6th and 7th centuries; and before a full restoration of normal forms, the special feature would be confirmed by Mahomedan invasions and subsequent occupation.

⁹ Except possibly in the case of royal alliances, where occasional early marriages may have taken place, naturally enough. Vide infra, *re* indications of it in 'tradition'.

might get married in advance while the elder still waited for her chances in love¹; cases of unmarried young women staying on with their father, and even growing old (or dying unmarried)² in the paternal home, were not unusual,³—though an old maid was regarded as rather unfortunate, eliciting ironical remarks (e.g., being called Yama's 'Kulapā,'⁴ or 'sitting long with the Fathers'), and maidens cursed their rivals in love with hated spinsterhood.⁵

The early Vedic texts⁷ know of mutual affection developing between the youth and the maid. Thus, the love-led maiden (jāriṇī) goes to her tryst, with as strong a passion as that of the gambler for his dice⁸; the river offers an easy ford, as a 'kanyā' bends herself to receive her 'marya's' embrace⁹; the young woman wcos and attends her dear lover,¹⁰ and the fingers press the 'Soma' as a 'kanyā' caresses her lover.¹¹ Young people dream of the co-mingling of body, intents and conduct, of the woman desiring a husband and the man desiring a wife coming together in joy and blessedness¹²; parents wish that their marriageable girl may find a husband according to her wish and choice and responsive to her love,¹³ and at the same time be enjoyed by, dear to, and concordant with him¹⁴; and with couples about to be married, the eyes of both are of honey-aspect,¹⁵ their faces ointment, they are put within one another's heart, and their minds are together.¹⁶

On *either* side the yearning described is that of persons in the fulness of youth. Thus, the sun follows the dawn like a youthful lover after an attractive woman¹⁷; Indra is coaxed as a confident lover proud of his 'yoṣā' coaxes her¹⁸ the youth imagines his chosen girl as pierced with Kāma's shafts (feathered with longing, tipped with love, necked with

¹ Vide infra.

² This was not a dreaded fate in early Vedic estimation: cf. Av. XVIII, 2, 47.

³ Rv. I, 117, 7; II, 17, 7; X, 39, 3; 40, 5; Av. I, 14.

⁴ I.e. 'mistress of Pluto's household'; similar remarks are still in use in vern. idioms.

⁵ In a double sense.

⁶ Av. I, 14, 3.

⁷ In the following lines the original texts have simply been paraphrased.

⁸ Rv. X, 34, 5; cf. 40, 6.

⁹ Rv. III, 33, 10.

¹⁰ Rv. IX, 32, 5.

¹¹ Rv. IX, 56, 3.

¹² Av. II, 30, 2-3. ('spouse-finder' mantras).

¹³ An oft-repeated phrase.

¹⁴ Av. II, 36, 4.5 (etc.); cf. VI, 60, 3.

¹⁵ Cf. Av. I, 34 (emphasising 'sweet' relations).

¹⁶ Av., VII, 36; cf. VI, 102 (moving together like a king-horse and a side-mare).

¹⁷ Rv., I, 115, 2.

¹⁸ Rv., IV, 20, 5.

resolve, consuming, humbling, etc.), so that impelled away from her parents, and leaving her cosy couch, she comes to him creeping, gentle and sweet, and entirely his¹; he wants her to burn and dry up with desire for every limb of his, lust after him, and cling to his arm and heart²; on the other hand, the maiden also wants her man to think of, pine for, and be mad after her,—while she would not fall in such plight herself, though he is dear to her³; in fact the young man often loses his head and makes a present of all his belongings to his girl⁴; she too, believing that it is after the manner of the gods themselves, and in accordance with Varuṇa's 'dharma,' boldly kindles the flame of burning love.⁵

On *either* side, again, strong jealousy is felt in love-affairs, and wandering affections are anxiously sought to be recalled,—which shows much freedom of intercourse. Thus rival maidens cursed one another ceremonially with spinsterhood,⁶—and malicious rites were performed by men also against their rivals⁷; when going abroad, the young man is reminded by his sweetheart that he is wholly hers, must never even mention any other woman, and must return to her even from beyond unknown lands and streams,—and he must not say anything against this prayer of hers, for a man's talk suits only the assembly, but he is to be quiet before his sweetheart⁸; when the lover has actually left her, she still wants him to long for her with his whole body, come back to her and be the father of her sons, though he may have run 5 leagues away, or a horseman's day's journey⁹; and the jealousy of rivals in love is reflected in the rite where the bride symbolically binds her groom with her hair to make him wholly hers, so that he may not henceforward even name another woman¹⁰; on the other hand when the maiden proved inconstant, her jilted lover earnestly hoped that she might yet dry up in heart and mouth by loving him, and that

1 Av. III, 25.

2 Av. VI, 9; cf. VI, 139 and VI, 8.

3 Av. VI, 130.

4 Rv. I, 117, 18.

5 Av. VI, 132.

6 Av. I, 14. The rite for barrenness of a rival woman might also have been performed by such jealous maidens; cf. Av. VII, 35; also VII, 113 (mutilation).

7 Cf. Av. VI, 138; VII, 90 (inducing impotence; performed also against wife's paramour).

8 Av. VII, 38 (might also be used by wives); Whitney refers to "Burmese" parallels of the 'thread-tie'; but cf. the well-known 'rākhi' throughout the "Gangetic" country.

9 Av. VI, 131.

10 Av. VII, 37.

estranged hearts might nevertheless be joined together and made the same.¹

Apart from these plain descriptions, the very fact that there were regular domestic rites (with charms and magic potions)² calculated to help in all the momentous stages of the progress of love-affairs,³ and that even the guardians of maidens took part in some of them,⁴ shows that free love-makings between young men and women before marriage, was fully recognized in ordinary society.

Good opportunities were afforded for these pre-marital loves in the Vedic festivals. The ritual of the Mahāvratā⁵ shows that it was the Brāhmanical counterpart of some popular spring festival,⁶ wherein there was much of song and dance, swinging and free intermingling of men and women, running into the extremes of promiscuity.⁷ But apart from such orgies, there was the more decent⁸ group of mixed gatherings called 'Samana's,⁹ where the most prominent feature was the wooings of lovers with a view to matrimony,¹⁰ and the lighter pleasures of the company of the fair sex in their most agreeable mood and choicest attire,⁴—though events like

¹ Av. VI, 139.

² Some of these rites have been indicated in the above references.

³ Viz., acquaintance, growth of love, secret visits, jealousy, estrangement, reunion, etc.

⁴ E.g. Av. II, 36; VI, 60.

⁵ Vide the 'Mahāvratā' sections in Yv. Saṃhitās.

⁶ Cf. Keith : Sāṅkh. Arāṇ., re the Mahāvratā.

⁷ This may have been the prototype of the classical Hallisaka and Lāṭarāsaka, mentioned in Vāts. Kā. Sūt. as specially suited for courtships in polite circles,—and of the more vulgar (?) medieval and modern Holi (Holākā, Dol, etc.), and Rāsa (Jhulan, etc.). But the inclusion of martial features in the Mahāvratā, and the sort of drum and dancing described, rather point to some Dravido-Kolārian affinities; cf. the seasonal orgies of the N.-E. Deccān tribes; the extremes of licentiousness (bhūtānām maithunam) are common to these as well as to the other group of festivals.

⁸ Not always,—for the sessions sometimes lasted the whole night, and girls spent the night out there; besides courtesans also took advantage of these 'Samana's. (Rv. I, 124, 8; cf. 126, 5; brilliant 'vrā's attending the Samana; 'viśyāḥ vrāḥ' with many associates).

⁹ Probably the 'Samana' was primarily a seasonal festival, at the beginning of the 'samā' or summer, which came to serve as the occasion for various social functions (just as even now marriages mostly take place in the months wherein the Vasanta-Pāñcamī and Holi fall). Indrāṇī (a sex goddess) was worshipped by women at these Samanas according to ancient custom : Rv. X, 86, 10.

¹⁰ Av. II, 36, 1 (agreeable and enjoyable to suitors); Rv. VII, 2, 5 (adorned all over); Rv. IV, 58, 8 (amorous, smiling, auspicious, etc.); etc.

poetic contests,¹ tournaments,² horse-races,³ or weddings,⁴ may have served as occasions for the gatherings.⁵ The fire-lit night⁶ of such 'Samana's witnessed, among many other gay and knightly scenes,⁷ those of young women ('kumārī's enjoyable to suitors) making love,⁸ and heavily adorned old maids ('agruvaḥ') seriously in quest of a husband.⁹ Among these young and elderly women must have been the 'agre-didhiṣū,' or the younger sister who anxious to marry would not wait¹⁰ for her elder sister,—the 'didhiṣū,' the less lucky elder sister knowing better rather late,¹¹ or the widow wooing afresh 'maryaṃ na yoṣā,'¹²—as well as the spinster growing old at home and staying with her father,¹³ and the forward brotherless girl.¹⁴

Such social freedom is characteristic of the early Vedic period, seclusion of women being unknown; even after marriage, wives, who ordinarily move about well-adorned within

- * 1 Possibly dramatic dialogues (sampled in the Rv.) were also acted in these Samanas; a piece like Purūravas-Urvaśī or Yama-Yami would be particularly suited for such audience (the later 'Yātrā' 'Kavi-gān,' etc., represents the Samana in this aspect).
- 2 Such contests were probably followed or occasioned by 'svayamvaras', as frequently in the Epics and Purāṇas; cf. 'samanartīṣū' in Av. XIV, 2, 59 ff, where mock fighting (for the bride) at the Samana or marriage assembly is referred to (vide infra). In the Epic pure tournaments also are attended by ladies who have seats in high galleries.
- 3 Cf. Rv. X, 168, 2, where mares at the Samana run with the Wind who rides on them like an universal king.
- 4 Av. VI, 60, 2 (cf. XIV, 2, 59 ff.) ('Samana' here may mean a 'svayamvara' assembly as well); maidens 'toiled to attend these' to help their own cause.
- 5 The Samanas have been compared to Greek festivals; ancient festivals are naturally more or less similar; but the parallel of Dravidian-Kolārian festivals is at least equally striking, and 'nearer home.' There is in them the same martial elements, free love-makings and excesses, marriages by capture and mock-fights, all-night revelries, and a remarkable passion for attending them in choicest attire, with young men and women alike; all the 'Samana imagery' in Vedic literature can be applied equally to a festival like the 'Kol-yātrā'. The Greek festivals also were based on earlier non-Indo-European institutions.
- 6 Rv. I, 48, 6 (Dawn dispersing the Samana); VII, 9, 4 (fire blazing bright at the Samana like the sun); cf. X, 69, 11.
- 7 Cf. Pischel: Ved. Stud. II, 314.
- 8 Av. II, 36, 1.
- 9 Rv. VII, 2, 5.
- 10 Vāja Sam. XXX, 9; cf. Vās. Dh. Sūt. XX, 7 ff.
- 11 Cf. Vās. Dh. Sūt. I, 18; Viṣ. Dh. Sūt. XXIV, 40 ('kuryāt svayamvaram'); Kullūka on Manu. III, 160, and comm. on Āpast. Dh. Sūt. II, 5, 12, 22.
- 12 Cf. Rv. X, 40, 2; ref. to in Manu. III, 173; vide St. Pet. Dict., s. v. 'didhiṣū', 3.
- 13 Vide ante.
- 14 Rv. I, 124, 4, 7; Av. I, 17, 1 (in red garments); cf. Rv. IV, 5, 5.

the house, often came out to the Sabhā.¹ The maidens growing up in their father's home mixed freely with the youth of the village,² and with them joined in the rustic music and swings under the spreading banyan-trees³; the virile young man ('marya') is normally a lover, constantly in the company of youthful maidens ('yuvati,' etc.),⁴ and, like the latter, affects bright and attractive costumes⁵ to enhance his 'marya-śrī' ('lover's grace')⁶; on the other hand, the young maiden is also fully engaged in the midst of a number of suitors,⁷ trying her best to please and attract them at the Samana,⁷ on the ferry-boat,⁷ or at home,⁷—turning her right side to every responsive suitor⁷; she meets her chosen lover at trysts,⁸ and lies only half asleep at night, expecting him to come and awaken her⁹; the bold youth also secretly visits his lady-love in her own chamber late in the night, while all her kinsmen are asleep, remaining with her till dawn.⁹

Thus it is only to be expected that the early marriage-ritual also presupposes that the married pair are grown up enough¹⁰ to be lovers, man and wife, and parents of children, and to begin a full home life of their own¹¹; almost at every step of that ritual, formulæ are repeated showing their immediate fitness for procreation¹²; and 'handgrasping' and consummation are the essential parts of the Vedic marriage.¹²

¹ Rv. I, 167, 3.

² V.I., II, 485.

³ Av. IV, 37, 3-5; the green and white swings (i.e., festooned with leaves and flowers), the music of cymbals and lutes, or the crests of peacock-plumes, ascribed to Gandharvas and Apsarases, under the Aśvattha and Nyagrodha, can only be a reflection of ordinary village merry-makings.

⁴ Rv. III, 31, 7; 33, 10 (embracing 'kanyā'); IV, 20, 5 (flattering 'yoṣā'); IX, 96, 20; etc.

⁵ Rv. IX, 96, 20.

⁶ Rv. II, 10, 5 (in enviable colours).

⁷ Av. II, 36; etc.

⁸ Rv. X, 34, 5; etc.

⁹ Rv. I, 134, 3.

¹⁰ 'Uninjured and unexhausted': Rev. VIII, 55, 5-8=Av. IV, 5. This formal rite would show that such clandestine meetings were common and connived at in society.

¹¹ Cf. 'pati-vedanau' ('spouse-finders'=the breasts): Av. VIII, 6, 1. Some Grh. Sūtras (acquainted with the later practice of child-marriage) plainly declare the Vedic marriage-ritual to be unsuitable, being meant for adults only; but even for that period, cf. the essential qualification of the bride in Vāts. Kā. Sūt.,—'stani.'

¹² Rv. X, 85; Av. XIV, 1 and 2. It is not improbable that several passages in the marriage mantras (Av. XIV, 2, 22-24) really refer to a legalising marriage after the woman has borne a son, who also is thus given the rights of primogeniture.

Fully in accord with these features, there is little trace of any real parental control¹ over such mature marriages. The later custom of parental sanction would become a necessity only as child-marriage became frequent. It is however probable, from the cases of Śyāvāśva and Vimada, that such control where it existed was more a characteristic of the Vedic ruling nobility (for obvious reasons) than of the Vedic priesthood,² which seems to have been generally indifferent to such eugenic considerations. Parents had to submit themselves to their new daughter-in-law's rule, she becoming at once the 'empress' of the household³: this position she could hardly have attained if the son was normally married at the dictation of his parents to a 'given away' girl. There is no evidence that the son's marriage could be legally controlled by the father, and not much of it in the case of the daughter.⁴ But parents often had a share in arranging suitable matches, as Ārcanānas had,⁵ acting as a 'vara' or intermediary⁶ in the wooing of his son Śyāvāśva who could not hope to succeed all by himself; so also the mother seems to have had a share (amounting sometimes to control) in the selection of a husband for her daughter, whom she helped in her toilet to make her acceptable⁷ to suitors; Rathavīti Dālbhya's queen objected to her daughter's marriage with Śyāvāśva (though the king was quite willing) insisting that her son-in-law must be a poet, so that the rejected candidate had to become one⁸; the gambler in the R̥gveda counts it a great misfortune to have lost the favour of his mother-in-law,⁹ which may have given him his wife. But sometimes an ardent but otherwise undesirable suitor ('vijāmātr') had to please the father by heavy payments for his bride¹⁰; or conversely, if a maiden had any defect or was unable to secure a husband herself, her brother (the generous 'śyāla') would offer a dowry for her marriage.¹¹ The brother was indeed largely responsible¹² for the sister's settlement in life; but besides providing a dowry in special

1 Cf. Delbrück: Ind. Ver., 574, 576, 582; Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 309 (opp. but not clear); but cf. Jain. Upan. Brā. III, 12, 2.

2 With this feature may be compared the comparatively greater prevalence of widow-burning and conjugal fidelity amongst the ruling nobility of the earliest times as shown by instances in 'tradition.'

3 Rv. X, 85, 46; Av. XIV, 2, 26; cf. Ait. Brā. III, 37.

4 Cf. V.I., I, 527.

5 Brhadd. V, 49 ff.

6 Rv. X, 78, 4; 85, 15, 23; vide n. 5 above.

7 Rv. I, 123, 11; Av. III, 36; etc.

8 Rv. V, 61, etc., with Brhadd. V, 49 ff.

9 Rv. X, 34, 3.

10 Rv. I, 109, 2; VIII, 2, 20; Mait. Sam. I, 10, 11; Taitt. Sam. II, 3, 4, 1; Kāth. Sam. XXXVI, 5; Taitt. Brā. I, 1, 2, 4; (cf. Nir. VI, 9; Mann. III, 53; VIII, 204; IX, 98).

11 Rv. VI, 28, 5; X, 27, 12; Av. V, 17, 12; Rv. I, 109, 2 (śyāla); X, 85, 6 (anudevī).

12 Cf. Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 328.

cases, he seems only to have exercised a general supervision over his sister's love-makings,—for it is considered a bad thing to take advantage of defenceless brotherless girls¹: which shows that girls with brothers were to some extent guided in their social intercourse. Sometimes, again, a father could make a gift of his daughter to someone for services rendered, as in the case of Cyavāna or Syāvāśva²; or in special cases he could stipulate for his daughter's remaining with him after marriage and bearing sons for his family only.³ These facts show some amount of control over the daughter's marriage, who could, under exceptional circumstances, 'be sold,' given away in arranged marriage, or bestowed as a gift; but if the daughter liked, she could go definitely against her father's wishes, and be appreciated for that, as in the case of Kamadyu, daughter of Purumitra, who practically eloped with Vimaḍa.⁴

The so-called marriage Hymns are rather tessellated pieces (as already noted).⁵ A number of features mentioned in them contradict one another, or do not fit in;—though later Sūtras have tried their best to use these passages to suit contemporary ritual, often obviously misapplying them.⁶ Thus some of them refer to the bride's being first escorted as a 'kumārī,' from her father's house to her future home in procession, where the marriage and its consummation takes place,⁷ while others might refer to the 'wedded' bride being so carried in procession⁸; some refer to eager and favourable brides,⁹ others, to wailings of the bride and other women in the house,¹⁰—which evidently refers to a mock-ceremonial attending the 'Rākṣasa' form of marriage by capture of a wailing woman¹¹ (supposed to make the bride and her sisters, friends

¹ Rv. IV, 5, 5.

² Jaim. Brā. III, 12, 2; Brhadd. V, 49 ff.

³ Rv. III, 31, 1.

⁴ Rv. I, 112, 19; 116, 1; 117, 20; X, 39, 7; 65, 12.

⁵ Vide ante: sec. re polyandry.

⁶ As in generally applying evidently polyandric forms, with the absurd result that a normal wife is called 'devī-kāma,' and ascribed several husbands and consummations; or, as with the funeral mantras (vide secs. re widow-remarriage and 'śmaśānas'), where passages relating to widow-burning are used of a cow, and those referring to erection of mounds are applied to digging out.

⁷ Av. XIV, 1, 62-63, with XIV, 2, first part, sp. 6-19; probably also XIV, 1, 6-22.

⁸ Av. XIV, 1, 61; 2, 74.

⁹ Av. XIV, 1, 9.31; 2, 52; etc.

¹⁰ Av. XIV, 2, 59-61.

¹¹ The passage becomes perfectly intelligible and appropriate if 'samanartīṣū' is analysed as 'samana-rtīṣū' ('in wedding assembly combats') instead of 'sama-nartīṣū' ('co-dancings') with Whitney. It cannot very well be supposed that funeral mantras have been inserted in the midst of marriage formulae. Neither Whitney and Roth's Index to the Av., nor Roth's Dict. notices this important word. 'Rti'=combat is a very common word

and relatives, miserable) ; some can only apply to polyandry, to polygamy, or to sister-marriage,¹ while others apply to normal forms ; and at least two of the passages show traces of having once been part of some older Dravidian ritual.² Hence it is not safe to take them as describing in detail and in order any *one* form of standard marriage-ritual ; though some of their features may well have been common to all forms and constituted the special act of marriage : like the taking of the bride's hand,³ the circumambulation of the household fire,⁴ or the consummation before or after home-coming (with connected rites).⁵

Apart from these optional forms of ritual (associated with extraordinary types of marriage and traces of different tribal customs), more of variety have been introduced by the different manners in which marriages were settled. The part of the 'bride-woosers' in several passages of the marriage-hymns shows that often alliances were negotiated⁶ by intermediaries (who were either friends and near relatives of the bridegroom, or professional match-makers)⁷ ; yet, generally the bride herself is approached and won over by favourable representations about her suitor, and she eagerly approves of the match.⁸ Indeed in R̥gvedic opinion,⁹ that 'vadhū' alone is 'bhadrā,' who, brilliantly attired, herself selects her mate ('friend') even in the midst of an assembly, though it is at the same

in Vedic texts. 'Samanarti' thus accurately describes the conflicts at Svayamvaras and forcible carrying off of brides from the marriage-assembly, so amply illustrated in ancient 'traditional' accounts ; from real wallings (with dishevelled hair) of the bride's 'janāh', 'jāmis' and other 'yuvatis', a formal ceremony would develop as a survival, and it is apparently this that is referred to in the above passage.

1 Vide ante, secs. re polyandry, polygamy and sister-marriage.

2 Av. XIV, 2, 19; 63; in the former the bride as the new mistress of the house addresses the house or its spirit as 'Idē', which can only stand for the Dravidian 'ida' and cognate words meaning homestead; in the latter the bride scatters 'pulya', which again represents the Dravidian 'puli' (cf. Prākṛta 'pulla' and mod. vern. 'muḍi').

3 Av. XIV, 1, 51; Rv. X, 18, 8.

4 In the Grh. Sūtras.

5 Which together take up a large part of the Rv. and Av. marriage hymns.

6 Av. XIV, 1, 8.9; 31; 2, 66; VI, 60, 1; etc.

7 Thus in Śyāvāśva's case the 'vara' was his father; while the 'aryaman' who is busy finding out wife for the wifeless and husband for the spinster (Av. VI, 60, 1) is evidently a professional 'ghaṭaka.' In the Vāts. Kā. Sūt., the 'varas' are still near relatives or friends of the suitor, but the 'varaṇa' system is disparaged, preference being given to the 'Gāndharva' where 'varas' are needless. (Probably it is through the 'varaṇa' being thus often personally done by the suitor that in later use 'vara' has come to mean the bridegroom himself).

8 Av. XIV, 1, 8.9; 31; VI, 60, 2.3; etc. So also, the 'kanyā' adorns herself with ornaments, eager to come to her 'vahuṭu'; Rv. IV, 58, 9.

9 Rv. X, 27, 12.

time recognized that many young women have to appear pleasing unto suitors anxious to wed them for their fortunes. The most usual type of marriage-alliance seems to have been that in which the bride and bridegroom had previously come to enjoy one another's company,—in their ordinary village life,¹ or in various opportune festive gatherings,²—and in which their free choice (made amongst a number of suitors and husband-seekers) and mutual attachment (growing through stages of estrangement, jealousies, wanderings and longings, and fostered by magic rites) had been approved as a matter of course by their kinsmen,³ who joined in the festivities⁴: a smooth and happy sort of affair with nothing rigid and unnatural in it.⁵ But sometimes the lovers came into conflict with their guardians, and the marriage had to be accomplished by capture and elopement, which was regarded as a commendable step for the knight and the lady alike; thus in the case of Vimada and Purumitra's daughter, it appears that there was no violence pure and simple,⁶ but that the affair was pre-arranged with the consent of the fair lady who refused to be guided by her father. This previous mutual consent is a noteworthy fact, as being present both in marriages by 'capture' and those by 'gift.'⁷ The gift of a maiden in marriage for services rendered is another exceptional form; but other elements sometimes clothe its bareness: thus in the case of Rathavīti-Dālbhya's daughter, Syāvāśva was at the same time an ardent suitor for the maiden subsequently 'given' to him. Priests very often received, from their princely patrons, noble maidens or slave-girls, for services at sacrifices, who are termed 'vadhū's (either wedded or 'wedable' girls, or simply those 'borne away' as presents on cars)⁸; but this does not appear to have involved any proper marriage, and is to be regarded as concubinage associated with polygamy, developing amongst certain opulent and powerful classes. Sometimes again, bargains were struck, and the bride was

¹ Vide pp. 95 and 96 above.

² Vide pp. 94 and 95 above.

³ E.g. Av. II, 36 shows that parents usually left the daughter free in these respects, and directly encouraged her in being forward in love affairs. (So also, even in her childhood her mother thinks of the time when the daughter's developed youth ('nativedanau') would win a husband for her).

⁴ Rv. IV, 58, 9; Av. XIV, 2, 59.

⁵ This is the type of marriage-alliance which, centuries later, is specially recommended as the best form, and treated as normally prevalent (in spite of the dicta of the law-books), in the Vāta. Kā. Sūt., under the technical name of 'gāndharva.' This treatise closely follows the Vedic notions about sex-relations, and represents conditions somewhat different from those in the law-codes.

⁶ Marriages by forcible capture were of course known; vide ante.

⁷ Such an element is also emphasised in the Vāta. Kā. Sūt. in these two forms.

⁸ Vide ante, sec. re polygamy.

practically sold for a heavy price, or the bridegroom purchased by offer of dowry; but the former was considered discreditable to the bridegroom, the latter creditable for the bride's relatives; and both practices were resorted to in exceptional cases only, where, of the suitor and the bride, one had some undesirable defects.

In agreement with the generally free character of the Vedic marriage, is the absence of any great restrictions on marriage outside or within certain spheres. There is no ban on marriages within the same group of agnates and cognates; and the several classes, Āryan as well as Dāsa, can intermarry. Sister-marriage, however, was apparently falling into disuse towards the close of the R̥gvedic period¹; but even in the subsequent Brāhmaṇa period the restrictions on 'sagotra' and 'sapinda' marriages did not go beyond the third or fourth generation on either side²; and first cousins, through mother's brother or father's sister, could marry,³ amongst several sections of the people,—marriage with a paternal uncle's daughter being more in use⁴; the restrictions grow more and more marked later on in the Sūtra period⁵; it is thus quite clear that they amounted to very little in the Vedic age proper.

So also, intermarriage between the several 'varṇas' was much easier. It is indeed inconceivable how young men and women could have been allowed free social intercourse in public gatherings or in private company, if there were any real bars to such intermarriage. This may have taken the form of hypergamy oftener. A Yv. Saṃhitā, however, mentions the 'āyogū,'⁶ which, if it is connected with the later 'āyogava,' may mean the Āryā woman (vaiśyā) married to a Sūdra⁶; the evidently old tradition recorded in the Āśvalāyana Sūtra, that equally with the 'devr,' the family slave ('dāsa') could lawfully marry the widow of his master,⁷ is a clearer fact for the early Vedic period; the Yv. Saṃhitās also refer to frequent cases of Sūdra-Āryā connexions,⁸ which points to the beginning

1 Vide ante, sec. re sister-marriage.

2 E.g. Sat. Brā. I, 8, 36.

3 Cf. the many Purāṇic as well as Buddhistic cases.

4 Vide V.I., I, 236.

5 E.g. Gobh. Gṛh. Sūt. III, 4, 4-5; Apast. Dh. Sūt. II, 5, 11, 15, 16; etc.; (for 'sapinda' marriages: Gaut. Dh. Sūt. XIV, 13; Vās. Dh. Sūt. IV, 17-19; cf. Manu: III, 5; Yāj. Dh. Śās. I, 52, 53). In Vāts. Sūt. the maternal uncle's daughter is still frequently courted and married, amongst the Dākṣiṇātyas, as well as elsewhere, where the young man is more or less dependent on his maternal uncle or lives with him.

6 Vāja. Saṃ. XXX, 5; Taitt. Brā. III, 4, 1, 1. In Purāṇic tradition Marutta, a famous Aikṣvāka prince, is called an 'āyogava'; this family is said to have been degraded to the Vaiśya status in ancient times owing to a mesalliance. (Query: Can it then be inferred that the Ikṣvākus were originally Sūdras?).

7 Āśval. Śr. Sūt. IV, 2, 18.

8 Vāja. Saṃ. XXIII, 30-31; Taitt. Saṃ. VII, 4, 19, 2-3.

of such intermixture in the earlier period; in an Atharvavedic charm directed against a rival lover (or a wife's paramour) he is referred to as a 'dāsa,' winning her love by sheer physical strength. On the other hand, men of the Ṛgvedic priestly class are often stated to have married into royal families, as Cyavāna, Śyāvāśva, or Viṃada did.¹ Probably this apparent prominence of hypergamy is due to the notices coming from the brāhmaṇas, who have naturally passed over 'rājanyas' who married brāhmaṇ women: still there is the clear case of King Svanaya-Bhāvayavya's beloved wife who was an Āngirasi.² The Atharva-veda glorifies the brāhmaṇ as the best husband for women of all other 'varṇas,'³ though from the same context it transpires that the 'brāhmaṇi' often held opposite views, and had to be reclaimed from persons of other 'varṇas' with the help of the king's justice.⁴ 'Vaiśi-putra's are known to the early Brāhmaṇas'; in the Yv. Ārya-Śūdrā connexions are subjects of jest amongst court and priestly circles,⁵ so that legal marriage between such must have been frequent; and respectable Vedic personages, like Auśija, Kavaṣa or Vatsa, were sons of slave ('dāsi' or 'śūdrā') mothers.⁶ The use of the term 'dāsi,' as compared with that of 'dāsa,' in Vedic texts, shows that the 'dāsi' very early came into contact with Aryan masters,⁷ as a result probably of the extermination and subjugation of aboriginal tribesmen; accordingly, 'dāsi-putras' became quite common, and slave-girls presented to priests by conquerors could be called 'vadhū's or 'wedable' women.⁸

1 Vide ante; (the royal families concerned are the Sāryātas and the Pāñcālas). Cf. the many Purāṇic instances. Kāksivant's case is a mixed one on either side.

2 Rv. I, 126. (Cf. early Purāṇic cases, e.g. that of Yayāti).

3 Av. V, 17, 8.9. (Cf. the striking anecdote of Oghavati in the Epic. and numerous instances of aberrations of brāhmaṇis in the Purāṇas).

4 Taitt. Brā. III, 9, 7, 3; Śat. Brā. XIII, 2.

5 Vide note 8, page 101.

6 Rv. I, 18, 1; I, 112, 11; Pāñc. Brā. XIV, 11, 16; Bṛhadd. IV, 11 ff. (Ait. Brā. II, 19; Kauṣ. Brā. XII, 1, 3; cf. Weber: Ind. Stud. 3, 459; Lanman: Sans. Read. 386-'87; Pargiter: J.R.A.S., 1910, 50). Pāñc. Brā. XIV, 6, 6; Kauṣ. Brā. XII, 3; Chānd. Upan. VI, 4, 4.

7 Vide ante, sec. re slave-concubinage.

8 Vide ante, ibid.

SOCIAL POSITION AND RELATIONS OF WOMEN.

It is significant that almost all the Vedic terms denoting woman express a special sense of actual or potential wifehood, and very few carry the simple meaning of woman as opposed to man. In Rv. the latter sense is found undoubted in 'strī'¹ (as opposed to 'pumāṃs' or 'vṛṣan' and as woman generally); but from Av. onwards 'strī' comes to be opposed to 'pati' and to mean wife,² though as late as the Sūtras 'strī' is still distinct from 'jāyā,' and the general sense of 'woman' always remained associated with it. 'Menā'³ denotes, first, any female (of animals, etc.), then a woman (but the sense of 'potential motherhood' may be implied). 'Kanā'⁴ and other cognate terms ('kanyā',⁵ 'kanīnakā',⁶ 'kanyānā',⁷ 'kanyalā'⁸), in Rv. and Av., denote a 'maiden and young woman,' with no direct reference to wifehood, but are often used in contexts showing her fitness for wooing and marriage. 'Yuvati',⁹ while meaning 'youthful woman and a maiden,' implies a readiness for union with a 'marya'¹⁰ ('young lover'). In some later Brāhmaṇas¹¹ 'yoṣā' has sometimes the sense of a 'girl' (in Av. as well),¹² or of 'female'¹³ generally, as opposed to 'vṛṣan'; but, though occasionally the Rv. has it in the sense of a 'daughter',¹⁴ in the great majority of its occurrences 'yoṣā'¹⁵ means 'young women, specially maidens, as meet for wedlock,'—while the Av. has also the sense of 'wife'¹⁶; the cognate terms 'yoṣan',¹⁷ 'yoṣaṇā'¹⁸ and 'yoṣit',¹⁹ also,

- 1 Rv. I, 164, 16; V, 61, 8; etc. (also in: Mait. Sam. IV, 7, 4; Taitt. Sam. VI, 5, 8, 2).
- 2 Av. XII, 2, 39; cf. Ait. Brā. III, 22, 1.
- 3 Rv., I, 62, 7; 95, 6; II, 39, 2.
- 4 Rv., X, 61, 5; etc.
- 5 Rv. I, 123, 10; 161, 5; III, 23, 10; etc.; Av. I, 14, 2; XI, 5, 18; XII, 1, 25, etc.
- 6 Rv. IV, 32, 23; X, 40, 9; (Nir. IV, 15).
- 7 Rv. VIII, 35, 5.
- 8 Av., V, 5, 3; XIV, 2, 52.
- 9 Rv., I, 118, 5; II, 35, 4; III, 54, 14; IV, 18, 8; V, 2, 1, 2; IX, 86, 16; X, 30, 5; Av. XIV, 2, 61. (This sense continues in the Brā.^o—Taitt. Brā. III, 1, 1, 9; 2, 4; Śat. Brā. XIII, 1, 9, 6; 4, 3, 8; etc.).
- 10 Rv. III, 31, 7; 33, 10; IV, 20, 5; IX, 96, 20; etc.
- 11 Śat. Brā. I, 8, 1, 7.
- 12 Av. XII, 3, 29; XIV, 1, 56; etc.; VI, 101, 1, etc.; (cf. Delbrück: Ind. Ver., 418).
- 13 Śat. Brā. I, 2, 5, 15; (freq. in Brā^os).
- 14 Rv. I, 117, 20; (cf. Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 310).
- 15 Rv. I, 48, 5; 92, 11; III, 33, 10; 38, 8; etc.
- 16 Av. XII, 3, 29.
- 17 Rv. IV, 5, 5.
- 18 Rv. III, 52, 3; 56, 5; 62, 6; VII, 95, 3; etc.
- 19 Rv. IX, 28, 4.

have in Rv. the import of 'woman as young and ripe for marriage.' 'Nārī' ¹ in Rv. has the clear import of woman as wife, as affected by matrimonial relations ('pati-justā', ² 'avidhavā', 'supatnīh', ³ etc.),—though in some cases the sense of 'woman as the sexual complement of man' is possible. ⁴ The term 'gnā' probably meant 'woman' originally, but was early restricted to 'divine women'; but there too, these are 'wives' of gods. It is doubtful if 'janī' ('jani') has the general sense of 'woman' ⁵ or a derivative sense of 'hetairai' ⁶ at all in the Rv. or later: it is almost always applied in relation to 'pati,' and phrases are used joining the word with husband, marriage, or wifely position ('patyur janitvam', ⁸ 'janaya na patnīh', ⁹ etc.).

It would thus appear that from early Vedic times the woman has mainly and almost exclusively been conceived of as wife and mother, and marriage was her normal and inevitable condition. This aspect of the woman is emphasised in the terms applied to her as wife: she is 'janī' as bearing her husband's child, ¹⁰ and 'jāyā' ¹¹ in the same sense along with that of the object of marital affection. Even as daughter she is 'duhitṛ,' 'the potential nourisher of a child.' ¹² This characteristic conception of woman has determined largely her place in the social system of Ancient India. Her special sphere is therefore the home; and she has always been true to it, though from the Vedic age onwards, at different times, she has passed out of her groove and lived a much fuller life. ¹³

Such being the standpoint from which the woman was regarded, it would seem to follow that a daughter was a welcome addition to the family. Though in Rv. the birth of

1 Rv. VII, 20, 5; 55, 8; VIII, 77, 8; X, 18, 7; 86, 10-11; (also in Av. XIV, 2, 13; Vāja. Sam. XXIII, 36; Ait. Brā. III, 34).

2 Rv. I, 73, 3.

3 Rv. VII, 20, 5; X, 18, 7; etc.; (same sense later also, sometimes, e.g. Gaut. Dh. Sūtr. IX, 28).

4 Cf. Delbrück: Ind. Ver., 417.439.

5 Rv. IV, 52, 1 (Uṣas, a fair 'jani' = wife?); V, 61, 3 (here 'wives' is reqd., but cf. Delbrück: op. cit., 413).

6 Rv. I, 85, 1; IV, 5, 5; 19, 5; VII, 18, 2; 26, 3; IX, 86, 32; (cf. X, 43, 1); (also in Vāja. Sam. XII, 35; XX, 40; 43; etc.); the plural use is no good ground for this sense.

7 Rv. X, 110, 5 ('patibhyo na janayah'); VIII, 2, 42 ('janitvana'); V, 61, 3 and X, 40, 10 (ref. to married condition).

8 Rv. X, 18, 8.

9 Rv. I, 62, 10; 186, 7.

10 Cf. 'jani' contrasted with 'patni': Rv. I, 62, 10; 186, 7.

11 Frequent in Rv. and Av. (for refs. vide V.I., I, 285-6); cf. the distinction in use of the terms 'jāyā' and 'patnī.'

12 Cf. Delbrück: Ind. Ver., 454; V.I., I, 371.

13 E.g. in Rgvedic, Upaniṣadic and Buddhistic periods.

sons is specially desired,¹ nothing is said in it deprecating that of daughters; an ancient 'gathā' cited in the Ait. Brā.² apparently calls a son 'heavenly light' and a daughter 'misery,' but 'krpaṇam' there might as well mean 'evoking tender feelings and compassion,' and a contrast is not required by the context; but in the Av.³ female births are often regarded as unpopular,⁴—being apparently the view of the common people (with whose practices the Av. was largely connected): thus we hear of charms⁵ for changing the foetus into a male one (the source of the later 'pumsavana,') and of herbs which scared away demons seeking to convert it into a female. Female infanticide was, however, probably non-existent. Apparent references⁶ to exposure of girl-infants may mean nothing more than 'laying aside the girl and taking up the boy,'⁷ or 'getting rid of the girl by marriage'⁸ (though even this would imply that girls were not cherished). The very fact that later Saṃhitās⁹ (as well as Brāṃs, Āraṃs and Upan.ṃs)¹⁰ severely condemn 'bhrūṇa-hatyā' as the greatest crime would go against a supposition¹¹ that female infanticide was a Vedic practice, though this condemnation refers to the 'bhrūṇa' only, whose sex is yet unknown,¹² and may not have applied to the 'born' female infant; it is to be noted in this connexion that exposure of infants on other grounds was not unknown: the child of an illegitimate union is abandoned and exposed,¹³ and there is an old Brāhmaṇa reference to two infants (probably boys) being exposed by a father¹⁴; so that if female infanticide existed it would certainly have found clear mention.

1 Rv. I, 91, 20; 92, 13; III, 1, 23; X, 85, 25. 41. 42. 45; Av. III, 23, 2; V, 25, 11; VI, 11, 2; etc.

2 Ait Brā. VII, 15.

3 Av. VIII, 6, 25; and VI, 11, 3.

4 On the other hand cf. Av. X, 8, 27: 'thou art woman and man, boy, also girl' (referring to human life as a mystic and divine entity).

5 Av. VI, 11; and III, 23.

6 Kāth. Sam. XXVII, 9; cf. Taitt. Sam. VI, 5, 10, 3; Mait. Sam. IV, 6, 4; 7, 9; Śaṅkh. Śr. Sūt. XV, 17, 12; (Nir. III, 4).

7 Böhtlingk: Z.D.M.G., 44, 494-96.

8 Traditional rendering by comm.

9 Taitt. Sam. VI, 5, 10, 2 and 3; Kāth. Sam. XXVII, 9; XXXI, 7; Kapiṣṭhala Sam., XLI, 7; Mait. Sam. LV, 1, 9; cf. Av. VI, 112, 3; 113, 2.

10 Taitt. Brā., III, 2, 8, 11 and 12; Taitt. Āraṇ., II, 7, 3 and 8; Brhad. Upan., IV, 1, 22; Kaus. Upan., III, 1; (Nir., VI, 27).

11 E.g. in Zimmer: Alt. Leb., 319-20; Delbrück: Ind. Ver., 575; Weber: Ind. Stud., 5, 54, 260, etc.

12 Cf. Taitt. Sam., VI., 5, 10, 2-3 (guilt attaching to slaying an indiscriminated embryo).

13 Rv. X, 99, 12; cf. Rv. IV, 19, 9; 30, 16.19; also I, 112, 8; II, 13, 12; 15, 7; X, 61, 8.

14 Pañc. Brā. XI, 8, 8; Yuktāśva Āṅgīrasa did it: hence sacred knowledge which departed from him had to be regained by rites.

When in spite of all prayers and spells it was after all a girl who descended on the family, it appears that she was not ill-treated in any way; for 'when a father and mother begat both son and daughter, the one engaged himself in the business of his father, while the other received honour'¹ (and 'the sonless father ensuring his daughter's progeny lived content..... honoured his son-in-law.....and went to the son of his daughter'). The husband and wife, sacrificing together deem it 'a favour of the gods, if they reach their full extent of life with sons and daughters by their side.'² In a battle-song, while the bowstring whispers like a loving wife, the quiver is praised as the 'father of many daughters'³ (the point of the simile being, 'who as well as shafts overcome the hearts of men'); so, to be a father of many daughters was not at all regarded as unlucky and its advantages were appreciated.

A happy love-match for their girl is the greatest concern of her parents, and they try all sorts of natural and supernatural means for that end.⁴ When the married daughter left her father's home,⁵ the benediction pronounced was full of tenderness (referring to the plucking of the fruit from its stalk and the untieing of Varuṇa's knot, the bond of parental affection). The parents of daughters were not very anxious to 'get rid of them by marriage'⁶; though from the Av. it appears that charms were uttered to secure husbands⁷ for their daughters, yet it was only to strengthen her own endeavours; the match-making 'bride-wooer' was entertained, but his business was to win the ear of the maiden herself.⁸ The mother would sometimes refuse to give her daughter to one not up to her ideal,⁹ even when the father had no objection; and she resents¹⁰ when her daughter suffers in the hands of a son-in-law addicted to gambling.

The mother no doubt wanted the daughter to help her in household work, and the unmarried sisters in the family together brought home water from the wells,¹¹ in jars poised on their heads ('seen by everybody but not known by the mind'),¹²

¹ Rv. III, 31, 1-2.

² Rv. VIII, 31, 5-9 ('kumārīṇā' and 'putrīṇā' in v. 8).

³ Rv. VI, 75, 1-7.

⁴ E.g. adorning, sending to Samanas, instructing in arts, encouraging in love, entertaining 'bride-woosers,' performing magic rites.

⁵ Av. XIV, 1, 17-20 and 46.

⁶ Vide n. 8, p. 105.

⁷ Av. II, 36.

⁸ Av. VI, 60, 1.

⁹ Cf. the 'Svāvasva episode' (Rv. V, 61, sp.; and Rv. V, 52-61; 81-82; VIII, 35-38; IX, 32; Bṛhadd. V, 49ff.).

¹⁰ Rv. X, 34, 3.

¹¹ Rv. I, 191, 14 (seven 'agrūs'.....'kumbhīnī'.....).

¹² Av. X, 8, 14 (a beautiful simile, repeated often in later poetry).

and wove and embroidered garments,¹—for their own future husbands as well²; but at the same time they were not crushed with domestic duties, and could join the merriments of the village youths, with whom they swung in 'green and white' swings under the village banyan, with music of lute and cymbals and display of peacock plumes³; even as 'yuvatis' they had leisure and liberty enough to enjoy to the full the company of their lovers.⁴

The unmarried girl stays on with her father (mother or brother) for years together⁵ without any resultant unpleasantness; she is ironically described as sitting long with 'the fathers,'⁶ but that indicates the parental consideration she enjoyed⁷; she, on her part again, looked to her father's interests, as Apālā⁸ cared for her father's fields (and his bald head). The very fact that home-staying old maids were not rare shows that daughters were not regarded by parents as undesirable burdens, though the daughters themselves would rather get married.⁹ A 'tānva'¹⁰ or 'legitimate son of the body' is said not to leave any share of the paternal property to his sister: this indicates that in the absence of such a 'tānva' the daughter inherited or had preference over adopted or other sorts of sons. At any rate she was entitled to maintenance and marriage-dower¹¹ from even such a brother (who was also expected to find her a husband,¹² look after her social conduct,¹³ and, along with his wife,¹⁴ to guide her generally). In an age when adoption was hated,¹⁵ when daughters could stay on unmarried in their father's house, till death without social penalty,¹⁶ and when daughters' sons were thought as good as sons of the body,¹⁷ the

1 Cf. Rv. II, 3, 6 and Vāja. Sam. XX, 41 (two sisters embroidering peśas on a stretched web); Av. X, 7, 42 (two sisters weaving a web stretched on 6 'mayūkhas,' one drawing the threads, the other setting them); cf. Taitt. Brā. II, 5, 5, 3 (same).

2 Av. XIV, 2, 51 (the bridegroom wears this garment 'soft to touch' in the marriage ritual).

3 Av. IV, 37, 4.

4 Rv. III, 31, 7; 33, 10; IV, 20, 5; IX, 96, 20; etc.; cf. II, 10, 5; (Nir. III, 15; IV, 2).

5 Rv. I, 117, 7; II, 17, 7; X, 39, 3; 40, 5; Av. I, 14, 3; etc.

6 Av. I, 14, 3.

7 An old maid was probably allowed to manage her father's household: hence the point of the remark 'Yama's kulapā'; cf. next note.

8 Rv. VIII, 80.

9 E.g. Ghoṣā, Apālā; cf. Rv. I, 117, 7; (cf. also the Av. charms, showing the girls' initiative in this matter).

10 Rv. III, 31, 2.

11 Rv. I, 109, 2.

12 Cf. n. 11. and Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 328.

13 Cf. Rv. I, 124, 7; IV, 5, 5; Av. I, 17, 1 (cf. Av. I, 14, 2).

14 Rv. X, 85, 46; Ait. Brā. III, 37, 5 (under wife).

15 Rv. VII, 4, 7-8; (Nir. III, 2).

16 Vide n. 5 above.

17 Rv. III, 31, 1.

daughters' legal position and importance in the family was evidently better than it was later on. Many daughters apparently inherited property in some way or other: for 'many a maid was pleasing to the suitor who fain would marry for her splendid riches.'¹

As she grows up, the daughter is allowed a larger share of personal and social freedom²; she is not rigidly secluded from the outside world, or hedged round with prohibitions. From sharing in the village dances and swings³ she passes on to constant companionship with her chosen lovers.⁴ She goes to festivals,⁵ adorning herself in desire of marriage,⁶ where she may even spend the night.⁷ She receives suitors⁸ quite as an independent person, goes to trysts to meet her love,⁹ or meets him in her own home¹⁰ while her people are asleep; she chooses her 'friend' as her husband in the midst of assembled men¹¹; she may even elope with a knightly lover¹² against the wishes of her father. She candidly tries to get a husband herself,¹³ before she becomes a confirmed old maid 'and it becomes too late.'¹⁴ Brothers quite naturally exercised some amount of control over the social activities of the young maiden,¹⁵ but only to the extent of seeing that no evil-minded man took any undue advantage of them.¹⁶ As brothers were normally expected¹⁷ to be on the look-out for a match for the sister, brotherless girls had often to be very forward, 'turning boldly towards men,'¹⁸ attracting attention by red garments. And in spite of some amount of social feeling against breaking the order of seniority in matrimony,¹⁹ younger sisters were not wanting who were 'anxious to woo'²⁰ before their elder sisters, and found husbands

1 Rv. X, 27, 12 ('kiyatī yoṣā maryato vadhūyoh paripritā panyasā vāryena').

2 Cf. V.I., II, 485.

3 Cf. n. 3, p. 107.

4 Cf. n. 4, p. 107.

5 Rv. IV, 58, 8; VI, 75, 4; VII, 2, 5; X, 86, 10; Av. II, 36, 1.

6 Rv. VII, 2, 5; I, 123, 11; Av. II, 36, 1; cf. Rv. IV, 58, 9.

7 For Samanas often lasted all night: Rv. I, 48, 6; VII, 9, 4.

8 Rv. X, 27, 12; cf. n. 4, p. 107; and Rv. X, 30, 6.

9 Rv. X, 34, 5; 40, 6.

10 Rv. VII, 55, 5-8; cf. I, 134, 3; Av. IV, 5.

11 Rv. X, 27, 12.

12 Rv. I, 112, 19; 116, 1; 117, 20; X, 39, 7; 65, 12.

13 Rv. VII, 2, 5; Av. II, 36, 1ff.; cf. the 'didhiṣū' and 'agre-didhiṣū.'

14 Rv. I, 117, 7; X, 39, 6.

15 Cf. notes 13 and 14 p. 107.

16 Rv. IV, 5, 5.

17 Cf. Zimmer: Alt. Leb. 328.

18 Rv. I, 124, 4, 7; etc.

19 Censured as sinful in later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, followed by Dharma-Sūtras (see n. 20 below and n. 1, p. 109).

20 Vāś. Dh. Sūt. XX, 7 ff. (cf. Vāja. Sam. XXX, 9). Probably also referred to in Taitt. Sam. III, 2, 4, 4; Kāt. Sr. Sūt. II, 1, 22; Kauś. Sūt. 3, 5; 137, 37. Vide note 1, next page.

brave enough to face denunciations or opprobrious epithets.¹—Vedic society thus appears to have taken it for granted that the woman had her likes and dislikes, her loves and joys, as much as the man. This personal freedom of action of the unmarried woman develops into a dignified wifehood after her marriage.²

Both as wife and as daughter, women were admitted to the privileges of the highest education, at least amongst the intellectual sections of the people.³ The early Vedic literature, as is well-known, contains contributions from women⁴; and women played an important part in the later Vedic period, in the Upaniṣadic discussions,⁵ a fact which explains the subsequent activities of women in the age of the Buddhistic Reformation.⁶ In the society of the Yv. Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas⁷ women love music and marry by preference men who can sing, so that they must have ordinarily been taught dancing and music; thus 'gāthās' were sung at weddings, and in Yv. ritual also the 'patnī-sāmans, or wives' songs have a recognized position. In an Upaniṣadic household it was thought worth while to go through special ceremonials in order to secure the birth of a daughter who would distinguish herself⁸ by learning. Learned women are often referred to in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras.⁹ The Atharvaveda, in the verses in praise of Vedic studentship, declares that it is by virtue of her 'brahmācarya' that a young maiden gets a husband¹⁰: this may point to some otherwise undetailed traditional course of instruction to girls,¹¹ similar to the well-known system of schooling going by that name; or it may well have been the case, that girl

¹ E.g. 'agre-dadhus' (Yv. Sam^{os}); 'agre-didhiṣu' (Yv. Sam^{os}, Taitt. Brā. and Dh. Sūt^{os}); 'agre-didhiṣu-pati' (Yv. and Dh. Sūt.); cf. 'didhiṣu-pati' (Dh. Sūt.) ref. to elder sister; and 'parivitta' and 'parivividāna' (in Av., Yv. Sam^{os}, and Brā.^o, ref. to breaking of order of seniority amongst brothers).

² When she is free, for instance, to address councils; vide *ante*, pp. 8, 10 and 11.

³ Cf. Hopkins. J. Am. Or. S., 13, 351-52; Weber: Ind. Stud. 10, 118-19.

⁴ E.g. Rv. V, 28; VIII, 80; X, 39; 40; etc.

⁵ E.g. Brhad. Upan. III, 6, 1; 8, 1; Āśval. Gr. Sūt. III, 3, 4; etc.

⁶ As evidenced in convents, missions, philanthropic and educational work.

⁷ Taitt. Sam. VI, 1, 6, 5; Mait. Sam. III, 7, 3; etc.; Sat. Brā. III, 2, 4, 3-6 (where however music seems to be regarded as rather a vain pursuit for man, suiting women better).

⁸ Brhad. Upan. VI, 4, 17 (a 'paṇḍitā duhitā').

⁹ Ait. Brā. V, 29; Kauś. Brā. II, 9; Brhad. Upan. III, 3, 1; 7, 1; Āśval. Gr. Sūt. III, 4, 4; Śāṅkh. Gr. Sūt. IV, 10.

¹⁰ Av. XI, 5, 18; ('brahma-vādinī' women, amongst both royal and priestly families, occur in Purāṇic traditional accounts from the very earliest steps; a few of them are mentioned in Vedic literature also, e.g. Mamata-Āṅgirasi).

¹¹ Courses of sacred instruction for both boys and girls are found amongst many primitive or ancient tribes.

students sometimes resided with the family of a teacher for a number of years, equally with boy-students, a system implied in the Epic-Purāṇic and in classical Sanskrit literature¹ as well. The extensive use of metronymics in post-Vedic literature (appearing from even the Ṛgvedic times onwards),² is partly accounted for by the fact that women of the more intellectual groups amongst the brāhmanas or kṣatriyas had often as much reputation in the learned circles of teachers as their men,³ and a metronymic must often have been something to be proud of, serving as a good introduction to its bearer (like 'Gārgi-putra').⁴ Post-Vedic literature indeed knows of quite a number of women-teachers of philosophy and ritual, married or otherwise,⁵ who apparently flourished towards the end of the Ṛgvedic period and immediately after it.⁶ The unmarried ('kumārī') women-teachers were designated 'gandharva-grhītā,' or 'married to the Gandharva(s).'⁷

- 1 E.g., the case of Ambā residing as a student with the Saikhāvatyas, in the Epic; or the heroine of Kālidāsa's famous drama, along with her friends, in the charge of the venerable matron of the hermitage. (The ref. here may however be to purely Epic conditions.)
- 2 Vide ante.
- 3 E.g. Patañjala-Kāpya's wife and daughter, Yājñavalkya's wives, etc.; Yājñavalkya proves his superiority by showing that he knows all that the former two ladies knew; some of these women are included in lists of ṛsis and teachers regularly honoured by Vedic students. Vide n. 5 below.
- 4 Bhṛhad. Upan. VI, 4, 30. (Of the Vedic and post-Vedic metronymics some at least may thus refer to descent from women-teachers).
- 5 Ait. Brā. V, 29; Kauṣ. Brā. II, 9;—authoritative opinion of a 'kumārī gandharva-grhītā,' on Agnihotra ritual. Patañjala-Kāpya's daughter was a 'gandharva-grhītā': Bhṛhad. Upan. III, 3, 1; so was his wife: ibid III, 7, 1; they instruct enquirers from distant lands; Patañjala himself learns from his wife. Gārgi Vācakanvi, Vāḍavā-Prāthitheyī and Sulabhā-Maitreyī are classed with ṛsis in the Sūtras: cf. Śāṅkh. Gṛh. Sūt. IV, 10; Āśval. Gṛh. Sūt. III, 4, 4.
- 6 The first two references in n. 5 above relate to the time of a Jātukarṇya; the others refer to the times of Uddālaka-Aruṇi and 'Yājñavalkya,' between two or four to seven generations after the Ṛgvedic compilation. It may be noted that Patañjala was an inhabitant of Madra, while the other names may be located in Mithilā.
- 7 Cf. V.I., I, 486; with the exception of Patañjala-Kāpya's 'bhāryā' who is also so called: apparently she was originally a 'gandharva-grhītā kumārī,' and had established her reputation as such before she married Patañjala, so that she continued to be known by her old designation (or 'bhāryā' here may be taken in the older sense of 'female member of the household,' i.e., the same as Patañjala's 'daughter' mentioned in the same connexion). It seems (from the context) that such women-teachers were supposed to be possessed by the spirits of ancient Āṅgīrasa (or Atharvanic) seers,—a remarkable point.

This epithet is significant, and throws some light on the later¹ practice of formal or nominal marriage of courtesans or 'artistes'² to some deity or woodland spirit³; it also explains the paradoxical statement in the Vedic marriage hymns, that three divinities are the first three husbands of a maiden, the fourth being the 'husband proper.'⁴ Evidently the Vedic society conceived of girl-life as developing through three stages (physical, moral and intellectual) into the fourth,⁵ that of actual wifehood, where girlhood ended: the stage presided over by Soma represents gradual acquisition of beauty and grace,⁶ that by Agni, of knowledge of domestic religious custom⁷ and purity of character, and that by the Gandharva,⁸ of various accomplishments. It follows that in theory every girl was supposed to have passed through a period of training and acquired some accomplishments,—they may have been anything from dancing⁹ to the subtlest ritualistic or esoteric doctrines¹⁰—before she could

¹ But probably a very ancient practice; marriage to a tree is known in the Jātakas. In the Av. women are believed to be possessed and enjoyed by Gandharvas, apparently in the course of village dances, music and swingings; probably the confirmed flirts and musical experts, who formed the central figures of village festivities, and refused to marry, were the first 'gandharva-grhitās.' They probably represent the 'apsarases' of Vedic and Epic-Purāṇic tradition and the 'ganikā's' of Buddhist and post-Mauryan periods; cf. their eminent position in the learned, literary and court circles as described in the Vāts. Kā. Sūt.

² Sometimes women of considerable wit and attainments, attached to the stage or the temple. Vide n. 1 above.

³ The temple god, a Kumāra image, or some tree, etc.

⁴ Rv. X, 85, 40.41=Av. XIV, 2, 3.4; cf. Av. V, 17, 2.

⁵ The analogy of the 'āśrama' theory is significant; probably it indicates an occasionally followed scheme of female education.

⁶ Cf. the traditional comparison of a girl's development with the moon's waxing (e.g., in Kumāra: I; cf. also the term 'ṣoḍaśī', which alludes to the 16 lunar phases). Soma might also signify, more particularly, the development of adolescence (owing to the Moon's supposed connexion with menstruation).

The ref. in Av. II, 36, however, to 'King Soma making the maiden of good fortune' and to Soma and Brahman enjoying (tasting), and Aryaman enriching (renewing) her fortune (or youth, person),—suggests another distinct yet similar conception (in perhaps another age or society), according to which the King (typified by the legendary ancestor of all Aila ruling families), and the Brahman or High Priest of the tribe (or the priesthood as a body), were regarded as in theory (or perhaps optionally in practice) the legal 'masters' of every maiden of the tribe, till her marriage, which was supposed to be due to the good offices of Aryaman and favour of Agni: all this acc. to the divine law of Dhātār. The explanation of the comm. that Brahman=Gandharva (!) and so the ref. is to XIV, 2, 3.4, is by no means convincing.

⁷ Cf. the vital importance of the wife for the fire-ritual in a household. Agni's lordship might also imply a period of 'brahmacharya' for the sake of suitable marriage.

⁸ The presiding genius of the Fine Arts, like the Muses; just as the Apsarases patronized games and sport (Av. X, 10, 3).

⁹ Cf. note 7, page 109.

¹⁰ Cf. note 9, p. 109; and note 4, p. 110.

enter married life.¹ At the same time such entry did not put a stop to the activities of her preceding life-stages, as many of the women teachers and debaters were wives,² and could follow their husbands through all the stages of their intellectual and spiritual development.³ It is also significant that in the Vedic society every woman seems to have been conceived of as ever in a state of marriage,⁴—as a child, with Soma or some other deity of abstractions,—as a young maiden, with the Arts personified,—and then finally with her human husband, for whom indeed her mother impatiently watches the development⁵ of her youth, carefully guides her toilet,⁶ and for whom she herself weaves the soft nuptial robes in sweet anticipation.⁷

¹ For in theory the husband is the 'fourth' possessor of a woman.

² E.g. Gārgī; Patañjala-Kāpya's wife; etc.

³ E.g. Yājñavalkya's wife; (the Vedic wife, like Mudgalānī-Indrasenā, could also share the husband's martial glory).

⁴ Cf. immediate remarriage or devr-marriage after widowhood. Cf. also the later and modified doctrine of Manu, regarding the perpetual dependence of woman on man.

⁵ Av. VIII, 6, 1.

⁶ Rv. I, 123, 11, etc.

⁷ Av. XIV, 2, 51.

EVIDENCE OF TRADITION.

Re Primitive Forms and Special Customs.

INTRODUCTORY.

There is a good deal of agreement between the evidence of the Vedic literature and that of the Purāṇic and Epic sources, with regard to the types of marriage, traces of its primitive forms, and the general position of women in society. This is only what might be expected. In the scale of historical values the Vedas and the rest of the priestly literature are still taken to be the standard, and whatever is not mentioned therein is taken to be *non est* or late and fabricated, while the least suspicion of a mention is developed into an ingenious theory, often by the same process whereby the sesasum of proverb changes into a palm-fruit. It is ignored that whatever authority the priestly literature may have in questions of religious, mythological and theological developments (and even there it is by no means an exclusive authority),¹ it cannot, in the nature of things be taken as the prime and best source of historical facts. As is well known, priesthoods have, quite naturally, a strong tendency towards conceited isolation resulting in ignorance or ignoring of secular thought and events and towards perversion of whatever knowledge of affairs they might acquire, to serve the interests of their own order and pretensions; the first characteristic is displayed throughout the Vedic literature in both forms; the second becomes notorious in the Purāṇic and Epic literature,—the custody of which, according to well-attested traditions passed to the priesthood² from the professional chroniclers and bardic experts, some little time after the catastrophe of the Bhārata or all-India war, which apparently introduced a period of decline in the 'Vedic' ruling classes and court life, that had hitherto sustained this latter stream³ of historico-literary productions. But even the mis-use of this sacred custody has not been able to obliterate the traditions of that early pre-Bhārata age, some of which were too deeply rooted in the popular memory

¹ Cf. Sörensen : preamble to the Index, for the growing conviction that Vedic religion and mythology cannot be properly understood without reference to Epic and Purāṇic.

² Cf. Chānd. Upan. III, 4, where the King's daughter refers to herself as the daughter of the lauded person, and the purohita's daughter as the daughter of the laudator, and so inferior. By this time therefore the Purāṇic chronicles had passed under priestly control from Sūtas, and the time agrees perfectly with what the Purāṇas themselves disclose.

³ Distinct and independent, and associated with special classes and lands.

and knowledge to be removed or wholly modified, even though offending against the priestly theories or subsequently changed ideas; and through the blurring daubs and confusions of subsequent brāhmanical accretions and perversions, can still be discerned,—thanks to the naïve, uncritical, and unhistorical treatment of their otherwise intellectual authors,—something of the original basic fabric. This supplies what is wanting in the R̥gveda and other Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, namely, *prima facie* and *bona fide* historical events and conditions for most of the period covered by the former group. The value of this source becomes greater, when ‘incidental’ evidence in the ‘priestly’ group of texts finds explanation, illustration, or support in the ‘bardic’ one.

The establishment of the position taken up here would involve a detailed examination of the historical elements in the entire Vedic, Purāṇic and Epic literature,—a matter outside the scope of the present dissertation. It will be sufficient to note here, that after a careful sifting of evidently later and brāhmanical modifications, and rejection of all of those well-known extravagances of fancy, there still remains a residuum of fact, which cannot be given any other name besides ‘traditional history,’—which has every mark of having at one time been carefully handed down through professional recorders,—and which can be given a tentative, workable, framework of chronology to stand upon, by a consideration and collation of undoubted synchronisms and uniform assertions. These synchronisms, plain statements, and the resultant scheme of chronology, elucidate much ill-understood matter in the Vedic literature, correct wrong perspectives and give them their proper setting and importance. At the same time there is nothing in this clarified tradition that is really inconsistent with definitely ‘Vedic’ facts. It is indeed strange that such an obvious source of historical information has so long lain outside the critical ken of scholars,—and that so much of fanciful speculations, unnecessary theories, preconceived notions, almost prejudices, should have gathered round the study of that other group of texts,—historically the most unpromising. But a wider comparative study and estimate is bound to come, and a reaction is overdue. Often scholars shrink from it, as from an impossible task or perilous venture, simply because they have been accustomed only to the usual ‘Vedic’ studies conducted in a peculiarly bookish manner, and have imbibed the ‘brāhmanic tradition’ (if any) unconsciously or in spite of themselves. One has, however, only to swerve the searchlight of critical study from ‘Vedic’ to ‘bardic’ lore, for a time, and then to and fro, to strike the right course. As it is, we have too long been making for various misty uncertain shores,—for the solar or nebular

myths, or the vegetation dramas¹; or been engaged, in exposing imaginary fabricators of tales from sacred texts,² in following the Indo-Afghan Vedic conquerors, as they issued through the Khyber Pass, severed from their Persian kin,³—or in depicting the typical Vedic King,⁴ strengthened in Indra's favour by the medicine-man,*killing 99 noseless Dāsas a day, ploughing his Punjāb submontane field, tending his sheep and cattle, squatting on grass-mats, and sleeping in his hedge-girt hut or cow-pen, safe from forest spirits.

The very fact that the 'traditional' material makes clearer and fuller what might be obscurely suggested by the Vedic,⁵—and sometimes vice versa,⁶—and that a rational continuous history, dynastic as well as cultural, discloses itself on putting the two together,—which sufficiently explains⁷ all that is yet known about early Indian conditions,—is a strong proof of the validity of the position set forth above.

The results obtained from this view will now be detailed, so far as the selected topics are concerned.

- 1 It will be enough to mention Ludwig's identification of Kṛṣṇa and five Pāṇḍavas with the Earth and five seasons, and Keith's notion that the story of Kṛṣṇa and Kāṃsa is a vegetation myth, which was often dramatised ritually.
- 2 For this view cf. the recent Vedic Index.
- 3 Even the recently discovered Boghāz-kūi inscriptions have been sought to be explained away owing to this preconceived notion.
- 4 It is a common mistake to take the Vedic period as a very short one and at the same time the most primitive one in Ancient India.
- 5 For instance, the full explanation that the Epic-Purāṇic traditions give, of the vague mentions of Kuru, Pāṇḍālā, and their kings, in the Rv., and Brā.°s.
- 6 As in the case of Dirghatamas and Kākṣivānt.
- 7 E.g., a rational explanation of Aryan expansion, of the Inner and Outer Aryan groups, or of development of Brāhmanism in the Sarasvatī and Kuru-Pāṇḍālā country is afforded by traditional history.

I.

BROTHER AND SISTER MARRIAGES.

As we have seen, sister-marriage was not very rare in the R̥gvedic period (the references indicating its actual occurrence, and theoretic discouragement in the latter part of it). The dynastic accounts in the common Purāṇic tradition, referring to the ruling nobility as well as the priesthood in that connection, contain many plain indications of the frequent occurrence of such consanguinous marriages, intermittently throughout the whole period covered by that tradition, viz., 90 steps, roundly,¹ backwards from the Bhārata War and the compilation of the Vedic texts. When these instances (along with those of other types and forms of sex-relations) are referred to and located in the general scheme of dynastic sequences, that evolves readily out of the patent synchronisms and consistent assertions, they² become very significant from the standpoint of early social history.

The first instance of a sister-marriage in the dynastic lists is that of Aṅga and his 'father's daughter' Sunīthā, the parents³ of the famous Veṇa.⁴ As with other similar cases, the designation 'pitṛ-kanyā',⁵ though preserved without

- 1 The Purāṇic tradition indeed goes back to still earlier times, and the Ailas and Aikṣvākas are treated as continuations of an earlier ruling race or races,—portions of whose story are as much historical in form as the later dynastic accounts; some traces of the pre-Aila marriage-relations will be shown infra.
- 2 The following instances are given in order of chronological sequence only, and not according to clarity of illustration.
- 3 In all accounts of Pṛthu-Vaiṇya's ancestry in the Purāṇas and the Epic.
- 4 Celebrated in Purāṇic texts (as well as in early Vedic texts); cf. "chosen King, an ideal one, supplanting 'prajāpatis,'—before Nahuṣa, in the beginning of the (present) Vaivasvata epoch": Padma: II, 35.
- 5 This apparently curious expression becomes fully intelligible when it is considered that in the genealogical śloka it is the practice to describe a wife as so-and-so's daughter, so that the only way in which a sister-marriage could be described was to call the wife 'pitṛ-kanyā.' It is possible that this expression was chosen as including half-sisters also, who would be only the father's daughters. In this connection it is noteworthy that in early Vedic texts (and the original Sūta-Māgadha texts must have been equally ancient) 'bhaginī' does not occur, and 'svasr' is a wide, general and relative term, while to designate sister as a blood-relation the qualification 'jāmi' is used (vide ante). It is probable that 'pitāmaha-sutā' (or daughter of Prajāpati or Brahmā) in many genealogies really stands for a first cousin, just as 'pitṛ-kanyā' = sister.

comments in one Purāṇa,¹ has given rise to emended readings and fanciful fables²: thus 'Mr̥tyu-kanyā',³ is another reading for 'pitṛ-kanyā',⁴—which is closely connected with that figment about the mind-born daughters of the Pitṛs.⁵ A Purāṇic account also professes to give details of the wooing of 'Mr̥tyu-kanyā' Sunīthā,⁶ where it is she who takes the initiative in it; it is interesting to compare Yamī's similar attitude⁷ in the Vedic poem; some of the later cases⁸ also imply similar initiative on the part of the 'pitṛ-kanyā,' viz. with Acchodā (*m. Amāvasu*) and Narmadā (*m. Purukutsa*).⁹

Eight generations after Aṅga and Sunīthā's time (according to the Purāṇic computation) we come across with several alleged sister-marriages, amongst the fresh groups of kindred races¹⁰ that succeeded the Pṛthu-ites.¹¹ The clearest notice is that of Danu's son Vipracitti (by Kaśyapa) marrying Diti's daughter Sindhikā (also by Kaśyapa), Danu and Diti being

1 Matsya : 4, 43-44 (Svāyambhuva Manu's dynasty, step No. 9).

2 In most Purāṇas, evidently by way of after-thought or through misunderstanding.

3 Matsya : 10, 3.

4 Or 'pituh,' or possibly 'Uroh' or 'Muroh' (the 'm' belonging to the preceding line) kanyā, Uru being Aṅga's father.

5 As Mr̥tyu=Yama=lord of the Pitṛs. Cf. the brāhmaṇical 'pitṛ-varṇa' sections of Purāṇas; and Pargiter: AIHT. pp. 69-70; 86; 196, 213.

6 Padma : II, 29-35 : urged by her father, and helped in her plans by her companions, she arranged a meeting with Aṅga (who wanted a strong successor), married him, and by him had the son Veṇa.

7 Her plea of the necessity of begetting a worthy grandson for their father and her arranging to meet the brother suitably.

8 Vide infra.

9 Probably this points to a type of sister-marriage similar to what prevailed amongst the ancient Egyptian ruling classes, where in the customary consanguineous royal marriages the sister was the central figure. (Cf. the dynastic history of Ancient Egypt, and the position of Cleopatra even in a much later period.)

10 I.e., 'the descendants of Dakṣa's daughters.' The Purāṇic accounts of these pre-Aila races are well worth studying from the ethnological and geographical points of view; they are consistent in many respects, and seem to embody real racial memories.

11 Some real personages of these groups have, however, become semi-mythical (e.g., the Danu-ite Vipracitti or the Vaivasvata Yama), apparently because subsequent developments of Aila and Aikṣvāka dynastic histories had little continued connections with these branches (after Duṣyanta in the Aila section, and earlier in the Aikṣvāka section), and these, by dropping out of the chronicles, tended to become legendary.* But this does not make any difference here; it is sufficient that such marriage-relations are indicated by tradition at this particular stage of traditional history.

* Still even in very much later times, the Danu-ite and Diti-ite princes of traditional accounts are real persons, distinguished from the mythical as 'manuṣya-dharmāḥ' or 'dhanyāḥ' (Vāyu : 63, 15-16; Brahmanḍa : III, 6, 1-3; etc.), probably they had some traces of non-Aila or non-Aikṣvāka descent, though not always so,

sisters and co-wives¹; it is to be noted that their descendants (though recognized as a mixed "Daitya-Dānava" clan) were called Saimphikeyas, after the sister-wife.² The Yama and Yamī of Ṛgvedic tradition are assigned by Purāṇas to the next generation, being children of Vivasvant,³ one of Vipracitti and Simhikā's step-brothers. Manu, another son of Vivasvant, also seems to have had a sister-wife: for Śraddhā is stated to have been a daughter of Vivasvant,⁴ and the genealogies make Śraddhā Manu's wife; Manu, again, is called 'Śraddha-deva'⁵; this ancient incest ascribed to a great name may have given rise to the Purāṇic question: "Why was Manu called Śraddhadeva?"—which has introduced so many Brāhmanical fables and didactic matter in the Purāṇas.⁶ But a more historical reference is to be found in the story of Cyavana-Bhārgava,⁷ (contemporary with Saryāti-Mānava, a step lower), who was the son of a Pulomā, whom her previously 'betrothed husband,' a Puloman, forcibly abducted from her 'de jure' husband Bhṛgu's house: when the sacrificial Agni is said to

- 1 Vāyu: 67, 60; Brahmanḍa: III, 5, 12; Hariv.: 3, 184-5; 204-5; 213-14; Matsya: 6, 25. Amongst Diti's near descendants, again, the Hālāhala 'gaṇa' (2 steps after Simhikā) are said to have sprung from Anuhlāda's son Vāyu and daughter Sinibālī: apparently another instance in the same group (Vāyu: 67, 75; Brahmanḍa: III, 5, 33 ff.).
- 2 Vāyu: 68, 17-22; Matsya: 6, 25; Brahmanḍa: III, 6, 17-22. So also, other branch races of this age are designated by metronyms, except the Vaivasvatas or Mānvas, which may have an ethnic significance. But the point to be noted here is that the 'mother-side' is stronger even in case of a brother-sister marriage.
- 3 Son of Aditi, and alleged progenitor of the Aikṣvāka (and Aila) dynasties. This bordering on myth need not be ruled out, for real men and women with names of favourite gods and goddesses have been very common in India; so in detailed genealogies like this, apparently reasonable traditions must be given their due. The reference (in the 'Aditya' genealogies) to another contemporary parallel of Vipracitti and Simhikā's case, in 'Indra' son of Aditi and his wife Sacī-Paulomī, may be legendary; nevertheless the traditional ascription of consanguineous connections to several members of a group has some value. It is curious that Pūṣan, who is a brother of Indra in these Purāṇic tables, should also be described in the Rv. as wooing his sister (vide ante).
- 4 Mbh. XII, 265, 9449.
- 5 Mbh. XII, 4507; but in XII, 13219, Śraddha-deva = Vivasvant (probably wrong for Vaivasvata?).
- 6 Cf. Hariv. 16-18. It is to be noted that the Purāṇic tradition assigns the origin of the cult and ritual of 'Śraddha' from comparatively later periods, either from the time of Nimi-son of Dattatreya, or from that of Jamadagni, both ascriptions relating practically to the same age, much later than Manu's. So the brāhmanical connection between Manu and 'Śraddha' is wrong and probably dates from after the standardization of Manu's code, by which time an explanation of Manu's incest had become necessary; 'Śraddha-deva' is therefore derived from his wife and sister Śraddhā, just as Rāma has a variant appellation Sītāpati: (probably 'Śraddhā-deva' would be a better reading).
- 7 Mbh. § 20 (Pulomā): I, 5-7.